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4 December 1980

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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REFLECTIONS ON WEST AFRICAN ISLAM, NEGRITUDE

Paris L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE MODERNES in French 3rd Quarter 1980 pp 3-16

[Article by Jean-Paul Charnay--passages between slantlines originally published in boldface]

[Text] Traditionally, African Islam was described as being essentially fraternal and ethnic. And even today the social and human fabric in rural areas is still primarily made up of traditional brotherhoods: Tijaniya, Qadiriya, moderate Hamallists, instilling a soothing popular mysticism in a stabilized peasantry--except for the special case of Mouridism within the Oulof peasantry, which is outside traditional Sunnite orthodoxy--and apparently increasing its financial power, based on [cultivation and commercialization of] ground nuts, through modern-style investments, while supporting proselytizing beyond its original site--even, it is said, among black Americans.

Traditionally, the constant tensions and conflicts between African Muslims resulted from distinctions between ethnic groups (each one wants its own mosque) and between brotherhoods. Various currents are presently unsettling this system of alternating opposition and coexistence between local communities. Two new distinctions, in particular, are appearing together with the growing importance assumed by a certain stratum of medium/large growers, businessmen, and entrepreneurs in the field of truck transport (with fat profits: passage through customs frequently being resolved in a "friendly" private way). Their fundamental doctrines of faith are not easily pinned down, as they have not been rigorously called to account for them, but they assure their social prestige and economic status by financing the construction and maintenance of mosques and medersas either directly, or through religious and cultural unions. Thus we see the Union for Islamic Progress in Senegal, the Muslim Cultural Center of the Ivory Coast, the new Ivorian Islamic Congregation of Abidjan, the Islamic Association of Niger, the Islamic Cultural Association of Cameroon, the Tanzania Muslim Council, the Supreme Council of Muslims (SUPKEM) of Kenya. These voluntary associations (under the old law of 1901 in the Francophone countries), in light of the secular nature of the states, are led by either traditional or entrepreneurial businessmen (beyond a certain economic threshold the distinction becomes blurred), religious thinkers who nevertheless are in general open to the West, and European-educated intellectuals: members of the liberal professions or academe. Their structure is sophisticated: executive board, specialized committees (religious affairs, estates, cultural affairs, youth, and education), branches at the local level. They seem to have little rapport, or merely polite relations, with the traditional brotherhoods of popular mysticism:

Tijaniya, or nonextremist Hamalliya (for example Sheikh Kamatullaye in Upper Volta). But by their more modern institutionalization, the composition of their executive bodies, they can be expected to attain a level of intellectual reflection and political activity that should assure them the status of privileged interlocutors with their governments, the Arab countries which are already supporting them, and with the cultural services of other countries.

In any case, here and now, in a still incomplete manner but one which will doubtless tend to become more stabilized, these associations are beginning to benefit from the quasi-banking operations some of their members are practicing, and to provide the financing and the management of their social works, the construction and operation of religious buildings on land which legally belongs to the Association, thus constituting a landed patrimony. But the donation of funds, frequently from member businessmen, or planters, also springs from the traditional Muslim obligation: the /zakat/, the charitable tithe, in a country where Muslim law is not established, and where the institution of the /habour/ (assignment of a gift, property and revenues, to a religious, charitable, or social venture: holy endowment) may not have previously been operative with respect to the small number of private, stabilized estate fortunes.

Isolated from the other groups, composed of merchants of less economic force, perhaps, but of great tenacity and solidarity, anti-Western, upholders of a puritan or even inflexible Islam, a minority both closed and activist, the Wahhabite faction, which calls itself Sunnite, strongly influenced by certain religious circles in Saudi Arabia, has broken with the other Muslim factions that condemn its intransigence. It tries to preach in locales where it has not been established before, castigating both traditional fraternal actions and the canonical but reformist Islam of the cultural associations. The schism is serious in Ivory Coast. In Upper Volta, at Bobo-Dioulasso, bloody confrontations broke out during the conflict with Mali (1974). Since then the Wahhabites have been creating their own associations and getting them legally recognized by the state in order to have autonomy and protection. The situation is therefore more calm, but psychologically the mutual bitterness remains. One quite symbolic example of comportment that is contrary to the unitarian affirmation of the Muslim community: the Wahhabites refuse to pray in the mosques of the other factions. The quarrel gets more venomous as we move from the field of orthodox conduct to that of orthodox belief.

Finally, there has been observed the appearance, qualitatively significant if not numerically large, of a closed extremism in several villages ruled by a charismatic leader. The phenomenon is certainly not new: one finds it at the origin of a number of warrior empires that evolve from self-absorption to expansionist holy war. The Senegalese film-maker Sembene Ousmane decries this in his film "Ceddo" (1976). It appears in a more limited way, between the two world wars, in the very evolution of the Hamalliya brotherhood, derived from the Tijaniya through Sheikh Hammallah, a pious and enterprising personality whose partisans were sufficiently seditious for the colonial administration to find it appropriate to exile him to France. The conflicts bore externally on several points of ritual: the number of /zikr-s/ (supererogatory invocations to the divinity after the prayer), the number of /raka-s/ (sequences of words and gestures composing the Muslim prayer), the number of beads on the chaplet. On a deeper level, the Hamalliya called for a more puritanical Islam--its Muslim adversaries would call it more intolerant. It seems that presently tensions are decreasing between most Hamallists and the other

brotherhoods; without renouncing their respective spiritual and ritual "ways," they nevertheless emphasize the fundamental fact: belonging to Islam. Several extremist Hamallist groups, however, claiming the communal nature of property, could be constituted in closed, inflexible, hierarchical units; their leaders would hold real economic and political power.

However, combined with the Wahhabite faction, the multiplication of such closed circles could entail the tearing apart of the social fabric and confrontations with other factions or with the governmental and administrative authorities. Which in fact happened in autumn 1979 at Dolle (northern Cameroon), while at the same time President Senghor (interview in AFRIQUE-DEFENSE, No 20, November 1979, p 50) was denouncing in Senegal the activity of a "little priest...who wanted to be a Khomeyni."

Thus one could synthesize the stratification of the Muslim factions:

/Literalist Islam: /

--puritanical: Wahhabiya

--intellectual: university-level institutes: Dakar, Zaria, Kano

--reformist: religious and cultural associations

/Popular Mysticism: /

--open: Tijaniya, Qadiriya, moderate Hamallists

--strict [or inflexible]: Mouridism, extremist Hamallists

--closed: villages in the hands of a charismatic leader (with sometimes a renewed emphasis on literalism).

The reinvigoration seems to spring primarily from the diverse strata of the merchant class, moving presently toward a primitive accumulation of capital, intellectually supported by the members of the liberal professions, and by certain portions of the peasantry looking for upward cultural and socioeconomic mobility through urban migration or agricultural improvement.

The most favored sector of this merchant stratum in general supports the activity of the cultural associations which, typically, accept the existing framework of the national state and the nature of the political and economic regime. But a fringe of this stratum, doubtless weaker in commercial terms, adheres to a pure and unrelenting Wahhabism that is, if not hostile, at least quite reserved with respect to the legitimacy of the governments, and which has pan-Islamic potential. These two factions are both active, and modifications in the internal and international position of Sub-Saharan Africa may well partly depend, across years and generations, on the ascendancy of one or the other.

More profoundly, the conversion to Islam poses the problem of the survival of African civilizations. For most of the newly converted, adherence to Islam brings with it rejection of traditional sacrifices, dances, masks, sculptures along with

the upholding of the former ethical and esthetic values. One would like to become a Muslim without ceasing to be a Dogon. But what will become of African values when the dances will have become "folkloric" and sculpture given over to individual subjective predilection? A proliferating, anarchic, and poorly assimilated western-style modernization is more depersonalizing and more destructive than Islamization. But the intellectual construct of Mamadou Dia based on holism and the correspondences between the great African belief systems, Islamic and animist, does not answer the question. One of the first great black thinkers of the contemporary era, the Antillian Edward Blyden, underlined early on, at a time when the Arabs were still practicing slavery while the Europeans were replacing it with colonial penetration, that Western values and Christianity are not as close as Islam to African mind-sets and structures ("Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race," 1887). Brought up in Christianity, Blyden reproaches it for having become "Aryan," studies Arabic, and without becoming a Muslim, asserts that Africa's conversion to Islam would [enable it to] maintain its purity and preserve it against racial prejudice, and against all white adulteration. Standing midway between the black liberators (Toussaint Louverture, Christophe) and the first restorationist intellectuals (Du Bois, Price-Mars), he preaches the improvement of Africa black civilization: pan-Africanism, negritude, and preservation of familial structures. Even today, in the majority of cases, at the micro-sociological level, a mutual tolerance is observed between members of a family belonging to different religions--not always, however, without certain emotional and psychological repercussions.

But if these themes were powerful instruments in gaining independence and in the decade that followed, are they not [presently] undergoing a certain ideological devaluation? The spell-binding arabesques described by Senghor: the return to negritude, the birth of an Afro-Latin culture, consciousness of a "Sudano-Guinean" civilization (from Mauritania all the way to Cameroon: which precisely encompasses the 17 member states of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]), the complementarity of the Arab-Berber relationship to the blacks, marvelous [to hear] at international conferences, are less and less enticing to intellectuals in comparison with either a more or less Marxist-trending progressivism, or progressive Islam. As for the masses...As to a return to authenticity split between [various] "imported" religions, Islam and Christianity, Tombalbaye paid for it with his life without being able to forestall Chad's explosion.

Moreover, neither puritan nor reformist Islam can any longer accept the preceding proposals for a relationship, on an equal footing, between animism, Islam, and Christianity, as preached, for example, from a pan-Africanist viewpoint by Nkrumah in his "Conscientisme" or by Sheikh Anta Diop who describes Islam as "ideological super-structure" and ticks off in a critical way both its positive and negative aspects: accusing it, in particular, of turning back history and suppressing African traditions, and of inciting Afro-Muslims, but its own inner logic, to dream of an Arabic demographic and cultural ascendancy: a phenomenon well-known in Islam from the time of the rejection of the /jahiliya:/ the pagan pre-Hegira epoch.

The African civilizations have elaborated a spiritual magnification of the physical body not simply as the ground of the self, but also as an object in itself, mediating between the group and the cosmos. Coupled with beauty of motion, the language of bodily gesture fulfills both the need for play and artistic aspirations, as well as calming metaphysical anxieties. Nudity, its concealment by esthetic or sacred

ornamentation (masks) that entail the symbolic depersonalization of the individual and the incarnation within him of other beings or forces, its variations through musical rhythms are displayed as a complete "language of gesture" in a brief interval of time.

But this mediation required spectacular psychological and psycho-motor mechanisms: violent dances, trance states, invocations and possessions. Now generational conflict, and the impact of the outside world, are such that the elders dare less and less to involve themselves in such outer and inner activities contrary to Muslim decency. So there appears a transitional social system in which the Other is not only the outsider, but one's brother, one's own image before which one no longer dares to "give in." And the sense of corporal and metaphysical dignity changes. Through the old dances, the language of the liberated body expressed the cohesion of the group and integrated the individual and the community with nature. Whereas in the big cities the oft-fascinating appearance of new styles of music utilizing and destroying, through jazz and pop idioms, the ancient rhythms (assiko music, makossa rhythm in the "jukeboxes" of Yaounde and Douala, "juju music" in Lagos) offers for urban people the personal freedom of modern dances. By contrast, the collective and disciplined performance of the prayers expresses a warm social solidarity naturally, but also the unequal relationship existing between the worshipper and the unique divinity, external and higher.

The language of gesture embraces not only the dance, but also sculpture, a fundamental element of African identity. Recent expert studies show this: neither philosophically, nor sociologically, nor artistically are they dissociable. Sculpture is a gestural language of longer duration but of similar aims: intergroup social communication with the living and the dead, evocation and utilization of the natural forces scattered in beings and things. Will masks and statues fall victim to the traditional condemnation of representation of a living being? Prostrating themselves in worship before inventories laden with sculptures, which slip from fervent conviction to decorative intentions and mercantile motives thanks to the local bourgeois and the transient foreigner, are the Dakar retailers on the sidewalk of the very commercial Georges-Pompidou Avenue, and the sculptors of Foumban, in Bamoun country. At Foumban, a little room has even been fixed up so that this manifestation [the Muslim prayer] does not annoy the tourist customer.

Without here going into the contradictory theological arguments, it is remarkable to note that westernized Muslim intellectuals insist on the preservation of traditional art, on condition that for the faithful a sculpture be [considered] nothing but a work of art, not a numinous object. An insistence that evades two contradictory questions: won't the masses, by atavism, by superstition, and by fear of magic, attribute supernatural meanings to such objects or actions, in accordance with the locale and the ethnic group, by virtue of the well-known syncretism of African Islam? But conversely, what will remain of a sacred art, and thus of the culture that produced it, when the collective and individual faith that justified it and nourished it has disappeared? What becomes of a fetish when no one believes in it any more? A source of profit, a museum piece. One does not pass with impunity from a cosmogony to an esthetic, to an amusement--to an article of commerce.

Mosques and Koranic teachers are still, even in the age of mass-media, the special vectors of the diffusion of Islam. Traditional particularisms (distinctions between

ethnic groups, particular languages, rivalries between villages, neighborhoods, trades) are already resulting in the increasing construction of mosques by separate groups, an ambivalent expression of Islam's expansion and of the rivalries characteristic of a traditional society. Economic weakness is not slowing down the scattering of effort. How many concrete and bondstone shells remain unbuilt because of the reconstruction of the great mosque of Ouagadougou financed by the president of the Muslim Community of Upper Volta, a transport entrepreneur with one of the country's rare truly large fortunes? Built of modern materials in a desire to prove the efficiency of their spiritual and financial promoters, they seem quite cold and uninspired compared to the marvelous "banko" mosques of Sudanese architecture. The soaring of faith, struggles of prestige and neighborhood particularisms are exhausting the meager reserves of a small collectivity and standing in the way of individual savings, but do contribute to the primitive accumulation of some capital to the profit of a stratum of entrepreneurs and tradesmen--who, though widely practicing alms-giving in the framework of cultural associations, and thus redistributing what they have made, still stand to profit from the extension of Islamization. On the other hand, the building of mosques and the opening of schools are expanding the need for officiating clergy and teachers. From which results the collections, the /fund raising meetings/ (Kenya...) and especially the natural reflex: turning to the Arab countries that have funds and Koranic universities.

Now any Islamization presumes Arabization: what will be the political consequences? In the medium term, three institutions could have powerful effects: cultural centers, Islamic scholarships, and Franco-Arab schools. The establishment of Arab cultural centers continues: Libyan cultural centers in Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta (in addition to those of Algeria, Turkey, and Malta); an Egyptian cultural center in Nouakchott; the African Islamic Center in Khartoum, in affiliation with several cultural associations--beyond the efforts of the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs of Cairo, and the Pakistani Ahmadiyya mission, especially in the English-speaking countries (Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana), but which are also trying to install themselves in Francophone countries (Adjameh, near Abidjan). The Libyan centers are apparently going to redouble their efforts at Arabization through practical courses (secretarial work, typing, home economics) which would call for wider affluence.

By contrast, West Africa lacks (at least in Francophone Africa, except for the Nigerian universities, notably Ahmadou Bello University in Zaria, and Abdullahi Bayero University at Kano) a great center of higher Islamic studies. Certainly there is an Islamic Institute in Dakar whose mosque and architecture point to Moroccan financing. It has launched a bulletin, but it is presently providing more a basic Muslim education than performing true research. And sociologically, with respect to prayer, the residents of Dakar prefer the habitual places of worship situated in their neighborhoods.

Financed by the oil countries, the plans for a vast university of Islamic studies to be located at Say (a small historic village situated 50 km south of Niamey) are currently under study but, in February 1979 work had not entered an active phase. Libya is also supposed to be installing an Institute of Islamic Studies in Timbuktoo. Moved, on the other hand, by its great economic force and its spiritual discipline, the Mouridist Brotherhood is finishing at Touba a Center of Religious Studies and has already set up a huge library with Arabic Koranic commentaries of traditional mold. But Koranic higher education is presently being spread through the system of "Islamic scholarships."

These scholarships are given to students going to pursue studies in theology and Muslim law in the universities of Mecca and Medina--the holy cities whose prestige seems to be growing along with that of the most illustrious and ancient of Muslim universities, El Azhar, in Cairo, which is suffering perhaps from Egypt's Israeli policy; and also in Libya, in Kuwait, in Algeria, and in the Sudan. Problems in adaptation have arisen. The Arabized graduates in religious and juridical sciences, disadvantaged in the job market by comparison with Francophone and English-speaking students, are thrown back into teaching in the medersas which, free, are financed by the community itself or receive subsidies from the Arab countries. Sometimes their salaries are directly assumed by these countries.

But these young men, imbued with literalist Islamic purity acquired at Mecca and Medina...are often shocked by the traditional thought and lifestyle of the old imams officiating at the mosques. From which comes their desire to replace them. The diversity of training, the heterogeneity of outlooks leads to sharp conflicts of interest and generations. In Freetown, in a popular quarter, a veritable war of the imams exploded, with the old and the new contending for the mosque, which was devastated in the course of a riot by the two camps of the faithful, the first holding its ground thanks to the old networks of influence; the second taking most of the young men, creating an association, and buying land to build another mosque. But when will this end? Even putting aside such an explosion, the cultural associations are aware that such conflicts lie dormant, and fearing religious activism, argue from the youthfulness of these puritan and literalist graduates in Islam that they should not be given the responsibilities of imams, which should be reserved to serious persons, studying or telling their beads at home, going out only to give the /khutba/ (sermon) and lead the great Friday prayer.

The World Association of Young Muslims, in its congress at Lagos (December 1978) concerned itself with the problem of placement for students in religious sciences and asked UNESCO to approach the various governments to obtain equivalence for their diplomas with national or western diplomas. But political and university circles, even Muslim, are hesitant, out of both practical considerations and out of apprehension of a religious zeal whose strength is presently shown by Wahhabism--or Iran. The problem is serious in a number of countries, at the various levels of teaching. At the university level, it seems that there is not much inclination to expand Islamic studies. In Dakar, Arabizing orientalism is returning to its traditional erudition. At the University of Abidjan, the plan to establish Arabic language instruction should assure it neutrality with respect to any religious influence. At the University of Dar Es Salaam, the opening of a department of religious studies as promoted by the Tanzania Muslim Council, is delayed--for lack of sites? And in Nigeria, the Christians in the south denounce the flourishing of the illustrious Muslim university in Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University. But the malaise is also obvious in the secondary and primary levels. Still in Nigeria, the UPN [United Party of Nigeria], whose principal leaders, originating from the western part of the country, are not Muslims, declares that it wants to harmonize, without mingling together, in a system of "free education," Koranic instruction for which several hours would be reserved, and modern instruction, in the western-style schools. In Senegal, the National Movement of Socialist Party Women is concerned about the fate of education for the /talibes,/ pupils, often of small means, in the Koranic schools. In Mauritania, the "African-Negro" pupils, French-speaking, fear an extension of Koranic instruction, in Arabic, at the secondary level.

In reality, the dialectic began as early as the colonial era. Proud of their Koranic schools, the Muslim communities had generally been more hostile than the non-Muslim communities to the modern schools opened by the colonizers. Practicing a sort of general education, in consonance with the collectivity, these non-Muslims were less resistant to a system of specialized education, which often gained them more rapid social and administrative promotion in the colonial structures, but also after independence. This under-education led to an awakening and to conflicts, not only among African Muslims but also among Indian Muslims. And the reaction involves the acceptance and establishment of a certain bilingualism, at least by the associations that are both militant and reformist--either Franco-Arab or Anglo-Arab bilingualism. Also, to overcome cultural opposition, and to give their children better professional opportunities, the Muslim associations themselves are establishing bilingualism. They are to some degree "westernizing" the students trained in the Muslim-Arab mode: either by the study of English or French in bilingual bodies in Arabia itself; or by a stay, following one's studies, in a western university with a view not to equivalence but to reconversion of the diploma; or by students in various disciplines going to the still largely French-speaking universities of Algeria; or by calling for bilingual teachers (Tunisians in Djibouti...). Several of them have for several years had "French-Arabic" schools, at both primary and secondary level, that are Muslim, private, and teach in Arabic but with some subjects in French.

Thus we see the strange and overlapping cultural and financial triangles.... Coming from the West, the petro-dollars provide the producing countries such bulging coffers that their socio-political and economic structures cannot immediately absorb all the wealth, which they turn to profit through investments and short-term loans in the West, which they transfer in part through aid to Africa (but a large proportion of this aid goes back to the West through purchase of technology, consumer goods, and arms), and another part of which, finally, they devote to give impetus to Islamic religious zeal, and thus to Arabization. But by virtue of the weight of history, of politics, and of professional needs, Arabization is backed up by study, or even reconversion, in a Western language: French or English.

From which comes the paradox: the West is financing Islamization through the intermediation of the producer countries, and is therefore working toward its own eclipse; but at the same time, Arabization doubles back and becomes a re-Westernization...which complicates the basic controversies over adhesion to an African root-language as the major, if not official, language of communication in a given country: Ouolof for Senegal, Djouha (Malinke) for Ivory Coast, Bambara for Mali...and all the ethnic, cultural, and political destabilizations--both internal and international--which could be inferred from it.... For the moment, the situation well mirrors the objective alliances formed, from the political point of view, between the liberal Western regimes and the monarchical oil regimes, against revolution and destabilization of the world economic system; and between the Christian and Muslim religions against materialism.

Most African Muslim leaders, often products of rather westernized reformist environments (intellectuals integrated into the administration, military types, some members of the liberal profession), supported by the businessmen of the cultural associations and the mass of the peasantry that is still bound up in traditional-style brotherhoods that have never attempted a systematic Arabization, have a need for the "rocket-technology" of the West in order to avoid their own destabilization.

For their armed forces, because of suspiciousness, want of appetite, or insufficient technical training, have no desire or ability to assimilate modern weapons systems and the broad strategies entailed by them. Now the West--France--represents a defensive power from a military standpoint, still (but for how long) strategically credible, culturally and economically acceptable to some social classes. And for the moment these African leaders in the northern part of West Africa feel a certain reticence with respect to any Arab "expansionism." Col. Qadhafi's policy (he is perceived as a political, not a religious, leader, despite his financial assistance to education, mosque-building, cultural centers...) is engendering the rejection of too great an Arab political ascendancy, even if it were to express itself [only] by religious means. Depending on the circumstances, it has alternately been leaders of Muslim or Christian origin who have in Chad demanded the continuation (always temporarily, and of course condemned by all in principle) or the immediate departure (resolved by the Kano conference) of the French forces. And Mauritania, which is entirely Muslim, shows the same alternation in trying to withdraw from the Saharan conflict. Logically, when all is said and done, in order to resist any unwarranted progressive pressure, the Muslim leaders rely on the Arab countries where Islam is resistant, stabilized, and where policy and economics are turned toward the West.

From which comes this idea of the Euro-Afro-Arab triad, in the political, economic and cultural spheres, which, according to one's ideological option, appears as observers' rights for the developed countries and compensation for the flight of their capital as determined by oil price increases; or subjection of raw materials and peoples on the periphery to the technology and peoples at the center who fear nothing so much as a lowering of their standard of living; or the creation of a vast geo-political and geo-economic totality based on an accord between the masters of technology and the masters of oil, in order to assure them jointly of this potential market and this vast arc oppressed with such poverty but laden with such wealth: central Africa; or an alliance of reformist or conservative governments against destabilization; or as the reciprocal protection of liberal pluralistic democracy of human and entrepreneurial rights, and of the new Arab capitalism and the Islamic ethos. In recent months Senghor has often cited Lenin: "whoever holds Africa holds Europe." And whoever holds Europe and Africa would dominate the Middle East....

Editor's Note: Jean-Paul Charnav is director of the Center of Studies and Research on Strategies and Conflicts, National Center for Scientific Research, the Sorbonne.

9516
CSO: 4400

U.S. 'HEGEMONIC TENDENCIES' SAID TO ENDANGER AFRICAN SOVEREIGNTY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 20 Oct 80 p 4

[Editorial reprinted from JORNAL DE ANGOLA, date not given]

[Text] When Jimmy Carter began his presidential campaign in Atlanta, the main newspaper of this American city, THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, stated: "Since Vietnam, the United States has been paralyzed when it needed to take direct action outside its territory."

This opinion, shared especially by the "hawks" in the White House, undoubtedly reflects the current intentions of American leaders whose hegemonic tendencies increasingly threaten the sovereignty of all peoples of the world, especially Africa, the current fertile field for its maneuvers.

In a way, it is important to link the recent statements by the American government on Africa with the polarization of political forces in the United States. The worsening American capitalist crisis is seeking solutions, aided by all the newspapers and the television which are completely controlled by multinational firms and largely run by Jews living in the United States. It is no accident the U.S. newspapers, television and radio openly criticize Carter and his administration for apparent apathy. Such strategy is part of the plan which American "hawks" have been carrying out for a long time.

In getting access to Somali bases, the United States moved a step closer to the militarization of the Indian Ocean, which, according to a UN resolution, should be transformed into a zone of peace.

The Somali bases of Berbera and Mogadiscio will primarily serve, as we all know, as a supply station for American rapid intervention forces, to facilitate U.S. interference in African and Middle East affairs, mainly against national liberation movements and Iran. In addition, the U.S.-Somali military agreement to rearm the Somali army also is a threat to peace in East Africa and the Horn of Africa, since the expansionist ambitions of Mogadiscio are well known; the latter is ignoring the principle of the OAU Charter on the retention of colonial borders at present.

Washington's aggressive policy, carried out in Africa again through this agreement with Somalia, is basically contrary to the wish of independent Africa to regulate differences on the continent peacefully, stressed Ethiopian Head of State Mengistu Haile Mariam on the sixth anniversary of the fall of the feudal government in Ethiopia.

The signing of the U.S.-Somali agreement during the OAU summit in Freetown is an unpardonable provocation to the African peoples who, in that high-level continental forum, stressed unequivocally that the Ogaden region is an integral part of Ethiopia and urged Somalia to withdraw its current territorial claims which not only harm the interests of neighboring countries but are not in keeping with OAU principles. By this new attitude, Washington again displayed its arrogance toward the OAU and all Africa.

World progressive opinion must condemn the U.S.-Somali agreement which truly endangers security in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf region and should support Ethiopia's position for a peaceful solution through normalization of its relations with Somalia.

By taking this position, world progressive opinion will not only help Africa defend its sovereignty which is now threatened, but also moderate international tension heightened by the imperialists.

9479

CSO: 4401

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

TERRORIST ON TRIAL--Luanda (ADN)--The trial of a member of the UNITA terrorist organisation, Abilio Ze Rafael, has begun before the Revolutionary Tribunal here. He took part in the imperialist aggression against Angola as a member of the South African armed forces in 1975-76. After having been trained by South African explosives experts he staged explosive attacks on railway facilities. He was captured by the MPLA People's Army earlier this year. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 Nov 80 p 4]

CSO: 4470

SITUATION OF CHADIAN REFUGEES IN CAMEROON EXPLORED

Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French 3,4,5 Sep 80

(Article and interview by Ebwele Ebongue)

(3 Sep 80, p 3)

[Text] Tuesday, 26 August 1980. It is 900 hours. The sun's rays beat down on Kousseri. Aboard a Red Cross Land Cruiser, we have just reached the Chadian refugee camp, on the bank of the Logone River. Camp? It is rather a large "village" whose principal characteristic strikes one at once: here there are no houses, only big tents. These serve as dwelling places, dispensaries and even hospital wards for the babies. It is in this camp that LSCR (League of Red Cross Societies) personnel are at work.

It is over 30°C. The flies buzz and alight everywhere. Men, women and children mill around inside and outside the tents. Endlessly. For how long? We do not know. One would say that the conception of time does not exist here.

Distressed eyes are fixed on N'Djamena on the other side of the river. On that side rifle shots still ring out. What do the men and women seated on the sand say to one another? We do not know. When they deign to answer a visitor the refugees utter only this sentence, this leitmotiv: "Let peace return!"

Peace! What a profound meaning this word seems to have here! While some of them walk with one another, others wait in line to be examined by doctors. Very often, the crying of babies escapes from the tents, inside of which mothers, veritable human wrecks, and their scrawny babies are stretched out on mats or rope beds [lits-picots]. In these places, it is not the seed of love but the seed of hatred, hatred of war which exists.

Accessory Sicknesses

How many undernourished babies are being treated by the renutrition service? A great many. But in addition to their malnutrition, these babies have other sicknesses, "accessory sickness," as it was put to us by Dr Gosselin. The names of these accessory sicknesses are diarrhea, vomiting, bronchitis, kwashiorkor, etc.

In the refugee camp, no one talks about the future. That is practically a taboo subject. Only the past and the present count. But that past and this present seem so close to one another! What else is there for these refugees but the past, if it is not the reality of the last 3 months? This reality which is made up only of suffering endured and atrocities experienced during the flight toward Kousseri.

Indelible Scars

One tearful mother tells how, while fording the Chari with her baby strapped to her back, the latter died without her knowing it! Another mother relates her tale of woe: "When the war broke out, I crossed the river in a panic with my three children. But when I reached Kousseri, I observed with stupefaction that one of the children was not mine and that I had, therefore, abandoned one of my children to be the victim of the bullets." A third woman, amidst her sobs, brings up the death of her daughter in the middle of the Chari crossing; she was hit and killed instantly with a bullet in the heart.

And the students? They are flooded with questions. Is their university life finished? What will they do now? Where will they go? And those who had money in the bank? They are as impoverished as the poor.

While in the tents, Swiss, Canadians, Cameroonians, Dutch, British, French, etc. help one another to achieve their common goal: "to save human lives, to alleviate physical suffering," one question persists: who will assume the responsibility for effacing from the minds of the refugees the ghastly memories which are so many indelible marks?

And who can say with certainty, even here, that no more suffering and atrocities are still to come? For when young combatants, who have suddenly become persons with one arm or one leg, declare with a livid look on their faces that they do not know why they are fighting, there is cause for concern. At present and in the future.

[4 Sep 80, p 4]

[Text] Kousseri. Barely 6 months ago this name brought nothing in particular to the minds of Cameroonians, and even less to the minds of foreigners. It took one spark for the former Fort-Foureaux to emerge from obscurity. A caprice of men? Convulsiveness of the times? All of these at one and the same time. Since 20 March 1980, the administrative center of the department of Logone-et-Chari entered the history books because of (or thanks to?) one of the greatest scandals that the imagination of man has invented: war!

Located 150 meters from N'Djamena, the Chadian capital, from which it is only separated by the Logone, Kousseri is in fact the principal witness of the bloody events which having been tearing this city apart for long months

Not a passive witness, as Kousseri has become the land of war, the refuge of Chadians fleeing from death.

The Stampede

To flee from death, horror and atrocities! How many persons from N'Djamena have done so since 20 March? Two thousand? Two hundred thirty thousand? We cannot give an exact figure as the crossing of the Logone continues. And all of a sudden the tiny village of Kousseri (10,000 inhabitants) is filled to overflowing.

The problems inherent in this kind of situation obviously require no comment. The explosion in food prices, banditry and, sicknesses were the first consequences of this exodus. What to do? Act. But how? Here, the notions of hospitality and the sense of humanity have been subjected to a rough test. How is this human tide, which has only one objective: to flee from death, to be contained?

Even had there been no bonds of friendship, solidarity and fraternity uniting Chad and Cameroon, respect for human life and quite simply pity would have commanded the Cameroonians to open their doors to the fugitives. This they did, I might add, spontaneously. But we must recognize the fact that in this sector as in many others, goodwill alone is ineffective.

Simultaneously aware of the seriousness of the situation in Chad and its modest means, the Cameroonian Government, therefore, established on national territory a national committee to help the Chadian refugees and provincial and departmental committees of the same kind. It then issued a stirring appeal to the international community for aid for these refugees.

Some countries are responding positively to this appeal. Some international organizations also. These are the HCR (the High Commissariat for Refugees), the OXFAM (British Humanitarian Organization), the LSCR (League of Red Cross Societies). Aid from these countries and organizations is both material and medical. On the material side, the aid takes the form of shipments to Kousseri of sorghum, wheat, cornmeal, milk, cooking oil, canned goods, meat, etc. Medical aid is characterized by the dispatch of medicines, nurses and drugs.

Particularity

Of course, all of the humanitarian organizations in Kousseri have responded to Cameroon's appeal. However, the presence of the League of Red Cross Societies' team in the Logone-et-Chari has this particularity: it is responding to a double imperative: to support the action of the Cameroonian Red Cross, which has 200 volunteer first-aid workers here, and to also support the totality of the humanitarian effort undertaken to help the Chadian refugees. In other words, the LCSR has answered a double appeal: that of the Cameroonian Government and that of the Cameroonian National Red Cross.

In the field, the LSCR has a contingent made up of one administrator and two mobile medical teams. If we are to believe Klaus Buttikoffer, administrator of the league's contingent, the two mobile medical teams are made up of personnel furnished by the Canadian and Swiss Red Cross organizations.

These teams, which work in tents, handle general consultations, general treatment and renutrition. For Canadian Dr. Andre Gosselin, a pediatrician, as for his Swiss

counterpart, Dr Jeanmaire, the principal difficulty relates to the work cadre: "It is very difficult to work in the tents," they say, "for it is very warm in them, as the tents are not adapted to Sahelian climatic conditions."

In 28 days of consultations, Dr Jeanmaire has logged in 3,289 patients; i.e., an average of nearly 150 patients per day, while Dr Gosselin sees 160 children (6 months to 5 years of age) daily.

Sustained Effort Action

Although they perform their duties in tents where the temperature is 30° C, the medical teams are working without letup. Here, they consult and prescribe drugs; over there, nurses are feeding baby cereal to the infants. Further along, Chadian volunteers are taking care of wounds or serving as interpreters.

Neither the flies which buzz, nor the hot sand, nor the heat seems to affect the enthusiasm of the league contingent. Here, everyone is "on a first name basis." But in the tents which serve as dispensaries, living quarters and hospital room, a visitor can barely refrain from showing his discomfort, revulsion and horror.

Of course, many things have changed since 20 March... Today the refugees no longer sleep in the trees. They are scattered throughout the city, in 13 sectors. However, none of them sleeps in the street any longer, beside public buildings or on the branches of trees. That is to say, borrowing the expression of the fugitives themselves, the housing conditions have favorably improved. Did not Dr Gosselin [name as published] who spent some time in Thailand recently confide to us that the conditions of the Chadian refugees were clearly better than that of the Cambodian refugees?

That notwithstanding, a refugee is still a refugee, with all that involves in suffering, privations, worries. That is the reason why the sacrifice of each of us, of each of the countries of the world, of each of the international organizations will not be in vain, nor too much.

Much has been done in Kousseri. That is undeniable. However, much also remains to be done: electrification of the camp, the drilling of wells, the acquisition of more acceptable dwellings, blankets, medicines, food, etc. So that the Chadian refugee may feel more at ease, it is an urgent matter for all of mankind today to make a sustained effort.

[5 Sep 80, p 6]

[Interview with the prefectural first deputy, Mahmoudou Moussa by Ebwele Ebongue]

[Text] A traveler returning from Kousseri is most often sought out by a crowd of curious persons. The questions come from all sides: How are the refugees? Where do they sleep? What do they eat? etc. When we arrived in Logone-et-Chari, these questions went right to our hearts. And to satisfy our curiosity, we had a meeting with the prefect. Unfortunately, he was detained and was unable to keep our appointment. It was finally the prefectural first deputy, Mahmoudou Moussa, who received us. And it was in his office that we learned of his recent appointment

to the position of coordinator of aid to Chadian refugees in Kousseri concurrently with his duties as prefectural first deputy of Logone-et-Chari.

CT [CAMEROON TRIBUNE]: Mr Prefect, describe for us a bit of the genesis of the arrival of Chadian refugees in Kousseri?

PM [Mahmoudou Moussa]: When things broke loose in N'Djamena, thousands of Chadians found the river. We decided to allow those fleeing from death to enter our country. Therefore, the response was spontaneous.

The first wave of refugees was welcomed by the people of Kousseri. As for the second wave, there was no room for them in the houses; therefore, the refugees had to install themselves in the trees.

A series of problems was then posed: the problem of food for the refugees and the people who had welcomed them; the problem of resupply: the Cameroonian Government had to send assistance (rice, sugar, millet, corn, cooking oil, fish, meat, etc.). Some organizations also turned up; however, it was the Cameroonian Government which first had to meet the needs of 230,000 refugees.

The problem of sanitation was posed immediately: an epidemic of measles decimated the children; consequently, we had to prevent other epidemics such as cholera, by digging latrines and vaccinating the populations. The vaccines, moreover, reached us a few months afterward.

After food and sanitary aid, we had to think about housing. We then set up refugee camps, while still leaving most of the refugees in the city. The problem of the camps is still with us. Other organizations have helped us along these lines, as well as have foreign nationals and countries.

The LSCR participated in the form of medical treatment. Its medical team was the second to be installed, after that of the OXFAM which came here within the framework of the HCR program.

CT: The problem of security is surely posed by the influx of these refugees...

PM: The city of Kousseri became bloated in a few days, increasing from 10,000 to 240,000 inhabitants. All the refugees located here apparently without bad intentions. Their concern was sleeping, resting, eating, and taking care of themselves. But the administration had to take certain measures to prevent possible criminal acts. We called upon two sections of the police and one company of the army; the forces of the commissariat for public security was strengthened.

CT: Were the refugees disarmed?

PM: It is true that some refugees may enter our country with weapons. That caused us to install control posts at the border. We are also planning to organize a shakedown inside the city.

CT: How is the distribution of aid organized?

MM: We have divided the refugees into 13 sectors. At the head of each sector there is an official who works with three persons. All aid is centralized in the hands of the departmental committee for aid to refugees. The committee then divides the aid among the different sectors.

Distribution is made every 10 days, theoretically; this principally involves the distribution of cereals. In between times, we distribute cooking oil, canned goods, sugar, blankets, tents, etc.

CT: Mr Prefect, some refugees say that they are not receiving this aid.

MM: That is the usual complaint. Some try to be clever. We wanted all refugees without exception to move into the camp, no matter what social category they belong to. But there are some who are reticent about doing so. We have suspended distributions to those who refuse to move into the camp. All those in the camp have cards and mandatorily receive something.

CT: Why do some refugees refuse to remain in camp?

MM: Some former dignitaries prefer to remain in the city rather than go to the camp. It is a psychological phenomenon which exists everywhere...

CT: Recently, a humanitarian organization named "Terre des Hommes" [Land of Men]. What were the reasons for it?

MM: When the "Terre des Hommes" team arrived here, we helped it to get settled just as we did the LSCR and OXFAM. This team wanted to concern itself principally with children. We placed resources at their disposal.

One evening, the police brought us one of the members of this team who was surprised at the river bank with a package of medicines. The man himself admitted that he was going to deliver that package to one of the factions in the Chadian conflict. That was not his first attempt, I might add. He had already traveled to N'Djamena twice where he had come under fire, while in Switzerland his superiors said that he was in Kousseri under the protection of the Cameroonian authorities.

Feeling that none of the organizations stationed here should serve as a conduit but should work exclusively in Kousseri, we expelled the "Terre des Hommes" team.

CT: It will soon be time for the return to classes. Has there been any thought about school-age refugees?

MM: When they arrived here, the refugees themselves thought that they would remain here only a few days. Now, we have to admit that the situation is long-lasting; the problem of schooling has, therefore, surfaced. A census has just been taken, and we will soon know the number of school-age children, in the primary, secondary and higher levels.

CT: One word on the behavior of the refugees.

MM: Their dispersement and living conditions make them aggressive, difficult. During distribution of food, it often happens that the chief of sector is attacked by one of them. Some elements of our forces of order are attacked from time to time.

CT: What is the situation of the refugees today compared to what it was 5 months ago?

MM: It is decidedly better in all sectors. In the housing sector, the refugees have tents. As for nutrition, the distribution of food is regular. As regards health, the ISCR and OXFAM teams and the French medical cooperation mission are working without letup.

There is really no comparison to make compared to the beginning. Those of the refugees who left for Nigeria have returned. We are awaiting the team of "doctors without borders" (France) and that of the "Catholic Relief Service."

CT: What are the on-site needs?

MM: Our needs remain immense, even if many aides have been signed up. We are beginning to fear a breakdown in our supplies. We must have other donors, as we have food and medicine needs. Since the situation threatens to endure, we should provide much more solid shelter than tents which are not adapted to the climate in the Sahelian region.

CT: Have you a wish to make?

MM: That everything be finished as soon as possible so that the refugees can go back to their native land.

8143

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

COOPERATIVES GET STATUS--Nazareth (ENA)--Legal status was given Sunday to the Wolba stage Wonji Kuriftu peasants producers co-operative in Adama district of Yerer Kereyu province, Shoa region. The certificate of recognition was given to the 225-member co-operative by Comrade Debela Dinsa, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Shoa region at a ceremony held Sunday. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Nov 80 p 1]

Dessie (ENA)--The Tis Abalima Vegetables Producers' Co-operative in Ambasel Province of Wollo Region this week received a legal certificate of recognition from the Ministry of Agriculture. The certificate was handed to the Chairman of the peasants' co-operative by Comrade Nadew Zekarias, Member of the Central Committee of COPWE and COPWE Representative for the Region. The Tis Abalima Vegetables Producers' Co-operative has 45 oxen, a machine for hoeing, a tractor and a Volkswagon car. The co-operative is planning to plant different vegetables this year on 51 hectares of additional land. Presently it possesses 91 hectares. While handing the certificate Comrade Nadew said that the people of the region, by withstanding man-made and natural disasters, are contributing substantially to the success of the Revolution. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Nov 80 p 8]

CZECHOSLOVAK DONATIONS--Assab (ENA)--Various road construction and medical equipment donated by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Socialist Ethiopia has arrived at the Assab Port. The equipment was inspected on Monday by Comrade Belay Bitew, Administrator of Assab Administration, and Comrade Libor Pecl, Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Ethiopia. The Czechoslovak donated equipment consists of 20 mobile dental X-ray, eight earth-moving heavy vehicles, and 29 loading and hauling trucks. The machineries will be sent shortly to Addis Ababa. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 5 Nov 80 p 1]

MINISTRY DISTRIBUTES SHEEP--Addis Ababa (EH)--The Debre Birhan Sheep Breeding Centre of the Ministry of Agriculture has distributed 741 cross-breed, improved mutton and wool producing sheep to producers' co-operatives in various parts of the country during the last six years. According to Zena Gibrenna, the monthly bulletin of the Ministry of Agriculture, the cross-breed mutton sheep have been distributed at very reasonable prices to the producers' cooperatives in Shoa, Wollo, Gondar, Kaffa, Sidamo, Tigray, Wollega, Gamo Goffa and Arssi. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Nov 80 p 5]

SOVIET CULTURAL DAYS TO BE OBSERVED IN ADDIS ABABA--Addis Ababa (ENA)--The high-level Soviet cultural delegation led by Comrade V. Kochetov, Deputy Minister of Culture of Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, presently here to attend

the Days of Soviet Culture in Socialist Ethiopia, was briefed on the activities of the Ethiopian Peace and Solidarity Committee (EPSC) yesterday morning. Comrade Tibebu Shiferraw, General Secretary of the EPSC, explained to the Soviet cultural delegation about the duties and responsibilities of the EPSC, the Ethio-Soviet Friendship Committee and the other friendship committees in the country, as well as the contributions made by them in strengthening the unity of struggle and bonds of friendship between Socialist Ethiopia and other friendly socialist countries. Comrade Tibebu told the visiting Soviet delegation that extensive preparation is presently underway through the joint effort of the Ethio-Soviet Friendship Committee and the Ethiopian Peace and Solidarity Committee to celebrate colourfully the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution throughout Socialist Ethiopia. Speaking in his turn, Comrade Kochetov expressed admiration for Comrade Chairman Mengistu's able leadership of the Ethiopian Revolution, which resulted in the attainment of numerous revolutionary gains, for his ability in familiarizing the world with the Ethiopian Revolution scientifically and for the role the Revolutionary Leader played and continues to play in strengthening the bonds of friendship between Ethiopia and other friendly socialist countries. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Nov 80 pp 1, 5, 8]

CSO: 4420

COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S 'REALISTIC' AFRICAN POLICY

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 11 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Kojo Yankah]

[Excerpts]

IF pre-campaign rhetoric and declarations are anything to go by, President-elect Ronald Reagan may drop a bomb in Africa faster than anybody thinks. Here is an avowed anti-Communist, a liberal-democrat turned Republican, and a fantastic communicator who describes Carter's foreign policy as one of "vacillation, appeasement and aimlessness", Carter's veiled support for South Africa is now to give way to a "realistic" approach to issues.

To say that Reagan is an enemy of Africa is an overstatement. He

will certainly find ready allies in Africa, for most parts of the continent have been impoverished, divided and humiliated as a result of western manoeuvres and hidden support for dictators and unpopular leaders. Hands are open to receive aid (and MARSHALL AID) and some countries are all too willing to create STABILITY by all means, even if it means using terrorist and other underhand means to eliminate "problem children".

But it cannot be any all the way. Reagan is going to push the pendulum too far on the scales he wants — either East or West. Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe cannot trade their newly-won liberation, yet here goes the President-elect on Angola in the Wall Street Journal: "I would provide UNITA with weapons. It doesn't take American manpower. Savimbi, the leader, controls more than half of Angola — I don't see anything wrong with someone who wants to free

themselves from the rule of an outside power which is Cuban and East German. I don't see why we shouldn't provide them with weapons to do it."

This is our new friend in Africa. His foreign policy points at a conflagration on the continent, yet when he was asked to comment on Somalia, on the Horn of Africa, he could only recall:

"Well, you are running the risk of a possible escalation into a conflict that can grow into World War III. I want it understood that our prime objective must be peace, and we're the only country that can do it."

Reagan believes there can only be war when the forces of FREEDOM are weak, and that is why he is going to escalate U.S. arms build-up to match the Soviet Union.

One can see a "real" definition of "freedom", "peace" and "Security" during the reign of the Republican president. For even when the

United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity have endorsed the fight for self-determination by the Polisario Front in Western Sahara, a vote in Reagan's hat is adamant. "The issue in the Western Sahara conflict is not self-determination, but the rivalry between two states, Morocco and Algeria. It would be obvious to me that the national interest of the United States is best served not only in North Africa, but globally, by helping our proven friend Morocco, not our constant adversary Algeria."

The problem with most "REALISTS" in international politics is that they end up conceding. "We did not know enough of the people." The unity of Africa stands threatened, the non-aligned movement is facing a test, and the world is watching who drops the bomb first. Maybe Ronald Reagan, the realist, came too soon. Maybe, the other side of Africa is wide awake.

U.S., USSR URGED TO AVOID SKIRMISHES LEADING TO GLOBAL CONFLICT

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 11 Nov 80 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

WHEN the elephants fight, it is the grass which suffers most.

We, therefore, view the American threat to the Soviet Union that her intervention in the Polish affairs would invite America and its allies as a threat to the Third World.

When a blind man says he will throw a stone, it means he has already stepped on a piece of stone.

Whatever preparations the Americans might have made which prompted Mr Edwin Messe, Head of the President-elect, Ronald Reagan's transition team to issue the warning, we hope the Reagan Administration will learn to dialogue with the Soviet Union to avoid testing their superiority on the battlefield.

Such interferences in the internal affairs of other countries by the World's super-powers have produced many trouble spots in the world.

The world needs peace, therefore, America and the Soviet Union must avoid skirmishes which may lead to a possible global conflict.

USSHER FORT JAILBREAK ISSUE RESURFACES

Rawling's Participation

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 14 Nov 80 p 1

[Excerpt] Government yesterday stated that Flt-Lt Jerry John Rawlings, Chairman of the erstwhile Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) cannot be exonerated from his share of blame because of the encouragement he offered and his direct personal involvement in the escape of five AFRC convicts from the Ussher Fort Prisons.

A Government White Paper on the report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the escape of the five prisoners said the Government could not accept the findings of the commission that there was no link between the alleged destruction of the warrants covering the prisoners by Flt-Lt Rawlings on November 8 and their escape from prison on November 12.

It said Flt Lt Rawlings did not accept the validity of the convictions of the prisoners and actively encouraged the convicts to believe in their early release.

The White Paper said Rawlings personally approved exceptional, preferential and extra comforts for the convicts which were not available to other convicts.

It said he took active and personal steps to have the warrants on the convicts destroyed.

Prison Officials Dismissed

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 14 Nov 80 p 1

[Text] Seven prison officers have been dismissed for their involvement in the Ussher Fort jail break incident in which five prisoners escaped on November 12, 1979.

They are Mr A. K. Oppong and Mr S. B. Quayson, both directors; Mr S. M. Alhassan and Mr J. D. K. Binifoh, Superintendents.

The rest are Mr E. K. Fiahagbe and Mr J. Pearson, both Chief Officers and Lance Corporal N. K. Allotey.

Mr P. A. Nartey, Superintendent has been retired while Mr E. K. Tamakloe, Deputy Superintendent has been recommended for transfer.

This is contained in a Government White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the release of five prisoners from the Usher Fort Prison on November 12, 1979.

Extradition Proceedings

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 12 Nov 80 p 1

(Text) The Government intends to institute proceedings in London where four of the five AFRC escaped prisoners are known to be currently living for their extradition to Ghana to serve their sentences.

This decision is contained in a Government White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the release of the five prisoners from the Usher Fort Prison on November 12, 1979.

Notwithstanding the difficulties under which the Commission operated including threats to the personal safety of its members, a significant factual documentation has been the end result, said the Government.

CSO: 4420

SDF LEADER ATTACKED AT OWN RESIDENCE

Incident Described

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 8 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Kwamena Apponsah]

[Excerpts] Unknown assailants on Wednesday night attacked and injured Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama, Leader of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) at his residence at Kaitohini Estate in Tamale.

Alhaji Mahama, who is on admission at the Tamale Central Hospital, could not be interviewed by reporters but according to Dr Daniel Delle, surgical specialist, he was responding to treatment.

When members of the press visited the residence, they found out that the furniture had been smashed, glasses and a radio casset broken, a brief-case forcibly opened and the contents scattered in the study.

Two walkie talkies were also found lying among the articles in the hall.

There was a pool of blood on the foreside of the bed in the bedroom with three bullet perforations in the window.

Officials Accused

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 10 Nov 80 p 1

[Article by Nelson Duah]

[Excerpt] Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama, leader of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), has accused the Northern Regional Minister and the Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of the Region of being responsible for the attack on him at Tamale last Wednesday night.

Speaking to me at his bedside at the Police Hospital in Accra where he is on admission after having been flown in from Tamale at the week-end, Alhaji Mahama said the recent curfew in Tamale was used to perpetrate the "evil deeds of the Regional Minister and the Assistant Commissioner of Police".

Alhaji Mahama explained that the attack was aimed at killing him, pointing out that had it not been the curfew, nobody could have attacked him and "go scot free".

He pointed out that the curfew was aimed at him because he did not see why the curfew was lifted soon after the attack on him.

The SDF leader said he suspected the Regional Minister as one of the men responsible for the attack on him because on the day of the incident, a van of the Information Services Department followed by a platoon of policemen and soldiers came to his office.

Allegations Denied

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 12 Nov 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Kwamena Apponsah]

[Excerpts] Alhaji Ibrahim Haruna, Northern Regional Minister, has categorically denied allegations that he and the Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of the Northern Region, Mr P. E. Cobbina, master-minded the attack on the life of Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama, Leader of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) last Wednesday.

In a statement, Alhaji Haruna said even to the ordinary mind it would certainly be "unreasonable and treasonable for me as the Regional Minister to either encourage or get involved in some of the very acts for which the government I represent imposed the curfew and soon afterwards recommend its lifting".

He recalled that when the news on the attack on Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama reached him, he issued a statement condemning it and requested the police to conduct a thorough investigation into it.

"I have nothing against Alhaji Mahama and I wish to reiterate that if he has the facts that would assist the police in their investigations he could bring them out instead of conjecturing. For, this would only succeed in confusing and distracting the attention of the police from tracing his assailants and the true brain behind the attack," he pointed out.

He described as ridiculous and malicious Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama's allegations that the curfew was aimed at him and was only lifted after the attack on him, adding that the coincidence was unfortunate.

Mr Cobbina, when contacted, declined to comment until he has read the papers containing Alhaji Mahama's allegations.

Meanwhile, the Popular Front Party (PFP) has expressed its dismay at the violent attack made on Alhaji Mahama, by some unknown assailants, reports Raymond Harry Reynolds.

This was contained in a statement signed by the leader of the Party, Mr Victor Owusu, in Accra yesterday.

LEGON UNIVERSITY CALLED LABORATORY FOR TRIBALISM

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 10 Nov 80 p 2

[Editorial]

[Excerpts] Tribalism is the major social disease plaguing Ghana's development.

The fact that the University of Ghana, Legon, the premier highest institution of learning has become the laboratory for tribalism poses a serious national problem.

No time should be wasted to ban all regional and tribal associations on the campus.

We share the grave concern expressed by Professor D. Adzel-Bekoe at the week-end, that the impact of these associations upon student politics was alarming and constituted a threat to the general welfare of students.

Nobody can de-emphasise the fact that tribalism leads to divisiveness and sectionalism which can ultimately destroy the nation and its institutions.

For, there are cases in point when some tribal associations have gone to the extent of warning their members not to accept posting to regions other than their own to do their national service.

To cap it all, some associations normally make deliberate attempts to rig students' Representative Council (SRC) and Hall elections in order to put their corrupt tribesmen at the helm of students' affairs to the detriment of the whole University administration.

All kinds of corrupt practices, including buying votes, rigging elections, impersonation, tribalism, etc. etc. which are all condoned and connived at by these tribal associations are then carried on to the national level by the students after the completion of their courses.

The tribal associations claim they seek the welfare of their members. If this is true, then which association is expected to cater for the welfare of

non-members and foreign students who also form part of the University community?

So far, what major contributions have these tribal associations made to improve the deteriorating conditions on the campus?

CSO: 4420

NATIONAL AFFAIRS MOVEMENT QUESTIONS AFRC MONIES ISSUE

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 8 Nov 80 p 4

[Excerpts] Since September 24, 1979, the AFRC and its three-month rule have become a centre of political controversy among sections of the Ghanaian populace. While some sing its praises, others shower abuses and try to portray it as probably the worst government that Ghana ever had. AFRC members, they argue, are equally corrupt and "chopped our money" just like the late Kutu Acheampong and his henchmen.

A few weeks after the PNP administration took over, the President, Dr Hilla Limann, made a statement to the effect that his Government had not received the huge sums of money the AFRC collected. This raised eye brows and brought a counter-statement from the Special Tribunal to the effect that all the monies were intact and that efforts had been made to hand it over the Government.

One would have thought that with the Special Tribunal's statement, doubts over AFRC moneys would have cleared.

On the contrary, subsequent statements from the Government continued to suggest that not all the moneys collected have been handed over. The Government claimed to have received only £23 million out of £300m? £600m? £900m? purported to have been collected by the AFRC.

With the recent publications in the weekly newspaper, "The Punch" about a secret "AFRC Student Account" at the Milner House branch of the Standard Bank from which huge withdrawals were allegedly made by some individuals in January (when all such accounts were supposed to have been handed over to the Government), further doubts have been planted in the minds of the public over the whereabouts of the moneys and the integrity of the AFRC.

Having made ACCOUNTABILITY an important, principle and one of the foundations on which a new Ghana rid of cheats and the corrupt should be built, one would have expected AFRC members to set an inspiring example by giving the public FACTS about the moneys collected.

Probe

Majora Boakye-Djan and Mensha-Poku were certainly in the right direction when they called for a probe into the issue of corruption of AFRC members, and a commission to establish FACTS about AFRC rule.

If that advice had been heeded, we will today have known or at least have a clearer notion of the various categories and sums of moneys collected.

Unfortunately, these demands were condemned by sections of the society, including "Progressive organizations" such as the NUGS June 4 Movement, and the People's Revolutionary League of Ghana, who described the calls as "reactionary," "imperialist intrigues and attempts to reverse the gains of June 4". To them ACCOUNTABILITY is not a principle but a trump-card to be used against reactionaries.

By implication their positions amount to this: If reactionaries are made accountable, then revolutionary gains are made. If revolutionaries are made accountable to the very people whose cause they espouse, then reversals of revolutionary gains come in.

Besides, other AFRC members have been silent. None is known to have openly supported the calls. Some felt they were too much of honest-superstars to be accountable to ordinary men, hence they preferred supernatural fetishes.

Even when the silence is broken, it is not to EDUCATE and INFORM the public on the basis of FACTS and figures. The issue of the whereabouts of the millions is dismissed as an attempt by enemies to reverse the gains of June 4 as Rawlings is reported to have said in reply to questions from his admirers.

Such answers are however not too helpful since they are fallacious and misleading. It does not deal with the issue at stake; it does not prove the falsity of the allegations but rather attacks the motives and integrity of those who make them.

Silence

The net result of this odd silence in the face of continuing accusations over the whereabouts of the AFRC moneys has been the development of the Silence-means-guilt syndrome, and a feeling on the part of the masses of having been let down. This leads to embarrassment and despair and compromises their determination to fight against corruption and their hopes for a better Ghana. What happens next is to keep quiet in the face of corruption, exploitation and injustice and give everything to God! "Nyame Bekyeras!"

Certainly, it is this kind of neutrality and passiveness that all exploiting groups in history look for and expect from the masses. Hence the urgent need to EDUCATE and INFORM, raise the awareness of the people with facts about AFRC moneys.

If we are to defend and carry forward the objectives of June 4 then we must clarify and enhance the consciousness of the people on the basis of truth and be ready to be accountable to the people at all times.

National Affairs Committee
Movement on National Affairs (MONAS)

CSO: 4420

THIRD FORCE PARTY WARNED TO BE REALISTIC

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 10 Nov 8 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Despite its dismal performance in the last general elections, the Third Force Party, as one of the recognized political groups, still enjoys a measure of respect for its fighting spirit and the way it keeps on reminding the public of its existence.

In exercise of its full democratic rights, the party has made known its stand on many issues not through Parliament--where it has no seat--but the press.

The party has even, in an advertiser's announcement, once gone to the extent of declaring almost all actions taken by the government as unconstitutional and calling on President Hilla Limann to resign from office.

This is all allowed by our Good Constitution.

However, despite the new lease of freedom of expression, the party needs to be realistic in some of its outbursts, if it ever hopes to mount the seat of government.

For, we consider it rather disadvantageous to the party, if it should tend to reduce important national issues to the level of school debates in which participants would be interested only in scoring points and not relating their arguments to realities of life.

As a party, the Third Force should have a good team of economic advisers.

For the "Times" considers it very strange for the party to suggest the raising of the minimum wage from £12 (which is already causing headaches in certain quarters) to £ a day. And that is not all. It is also calling for a price of £600 for a load of cocoa.

Are we being serious?

CSO: 4420

BRIEFS

INTER-PARTY CONSULTATIVE FORUM--A consultative forum, made of representatives of registered political parties and the Electoral Commissioner has been formed to discuss and find solution to Common national problems. This was disclosed by the Electoral Commissioner, Mr J. Kinsley-Nyinah Jr. at a meeting with editors of the mass media in Accra yesterday. He explained that the forum "is to enable this Commission to meet regularly with the political parties, have meaningful discussions with them on matters of common national political interest, unfold to one another our problems and put our heads together in finding solutions to our common national problems". He recalled that a similar forum was set up during the 1979 Parliamentary and Presidential Electioneering campaign. His main objective, he said, was to fashion for present and future generations a more healthful and effective brand of party politics far removed from the dishonesties, the deceits and the falsehoods and indecencies of the not very distant past. He stressed the need for party politics with a marked and distinctive difference from the past and "which places the interests of the nation above party, parochialism, and partisan ship". [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 13 Nov 80 p 1]

USSR ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION--The Ghana-USSR Friendship Society on Thursday organized "a forum of cultural understanding and solidarity" in Accra in commemoration of the 63rd anniversary celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The activities included an exhibition depicting the success of the revolution including ceramics from Ukraine Republic. Speaking at the forum on "The cultural aspect of the October Socialist Revolution," the First Secretary of the USSR Embassy in Accra, Mr F. L. Darin, said "socialism has moulded a new man one who does not believe in money-grabbing, in subjugating other people, in chauvinism and whose ideals are industriousness, mutual help collectivism and internationalism". He said that socialist culture was now fulfilling the moral mission of emancipating man intellectually because it was bringing him enlightenment, enriching his mental world developing his consciousness and moulding his sense. Other speakers at the forum included Miss Aba Hayford, a lecturer at the Institute of African Studies, Legon, Miss Charlottee, a Ghanaian artist Mr Ebow Clark, also an artist and Mr Atukwei Okai head of the Department of Languages, University of Ghana. [Excerpt] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 8 Nov 80 p 8]

ADB PALM OIL MILL LOAN--Construction work has begun on a £4.5m. oil mill at Aiyinase in the Western Region. The Western Regional Deputy Minister, Mr. Lee Tandoh Ocran, said the project would be completed next year. He said the Agricultural Development Bank had already taken delivery of the necessary equipment, purchased with a £3m. loan from the African Development Bank. The mills are to produce about four tonnes of palm oil per hour and would initially employ about 60 people. Mr. Tandoh said 15 acres of land had been acquired in the Aiyinese area for an oil palm plantation. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 17 Nov 80 p 2330]

CSO: 4420

FOREIGN AID FOR DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 25 Oct 80 pp 1,2

[Text] On the threshold of the development decade (1981-90) we consider it useful to review development aid to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar in 1979, distinguishing between technical assistance projects and activities committed and underway in 1979, and foreign financing of investments committed during that year.

Commitments

In the technical assistance activities and projects committed by foreign aid sources for 1979, and the following years, one notes on the one hand that new operations were begun by the "traditional" sources of financing (France, USSR, EDF, United Nations System), on the other hand several donors have intensified technical assistance in relation to preceeding years (Canada, Japan, Algeria).

New commitments made in 1979 reach the total of \$74.2 million, the most important sources including France with \$26.6 million, the United Nations System with \$19.9 million, and the USSR with \$12.3 million.

The principal sectors in which commitments were made in 1979 remain science and technology (23 percent), agriculture, forests and fisheries (20 percent), and education (19 percent).

Payments

Total payments in 1979, for technical assistance activities and projects under way, committed in 1979 or during the preceeding years, is calculated at \$52.7 million (compared with \$33.8 million in 1978) to which should be added 45 noncalculated projects (7 with Cuba, 6 with China, and 6 with Yugoslavia).

The principal sectors for intervention remain agriculture, forests and fisheries (28 percent) and science and technology--particularly university scholarships for study and teaching (20 percent). It is worth noting that the sectors of intervention differ

Experts

A considerable increase in the number of experts (technical assistants, cooperators, volunteers, etc.) is noted in 1979: 944 experts, compared to 716 in 1978, and 744

in 1977. The number of experts does not include consultants who came to Madagascar for less than 6 months, nor subcontractor personnel, nor technical assistants of private organisations. This figure does not include Mauritanian nationals serving as consultants largely within the United Nations System within the framework of the application of new dimensions of the UNDP.

As in previous years the French technical assistance corps remains the largest: almost three-quarters of all experts come from France (689), following by the USSR (69), the United Nations System (44), Switzerland (38) and the EDF (33); 71 experts are financed by other countries. The principal sectors of intervention (grouping around 90 percent of the total) remain: education, with a total of 462 experts, science and technology, with a total of 171, agriculture, forests and fisheries, with a total of 106, and health, with a total of 105 experts.

A total of around 1300 long-term study scholarships were granted Madagascar in 1979, representing approximately the same number of scholarships as in 1978. The EDF participates in the financing of a total of 350 study scholarships, while France follows with 346 study scholarships, and the USSR 310.

Capital Assistance

Foreign financing of investments in Madagascar in 1979 amounted to \$222 million, compared to \$175 million and \$59 million in 1978 and 1977, respectively. This continuing increase in foreign investments in Madagascar confirms the pursuit and intensification of the REM's all-out investment policy. Globally, nearly all capital assistance (97 percent) was granted to only 4 sectors, namely natural resources, agriculture, transports and communications, and international trade.

Loans and Subsidies

Of the total amount of foreign financing \$18 million, or 8 percent (16 percent in 1978) were committed as subsidies and \$204 million or 92 percent (84 percent in 1978) as loans. While subsidies have diminished by \$10 million compared to 1978, loans granted in 1979 increased by \$57 million compared to 1978.

Subsidies are apportioned in the first place to the sectors of transport and communications (52 percent) and agriculture, forests and fisheries (27 percent). The principal sources of capital subsidies for Madagascar remain Japan (\$4.7 million), France (\$4.4 million) through FAC [French Aid and Cooperation Fund] and CCCE [Central Fund for Economic Cooperation,] as well as the European Development Fund (\$4.2 million).

Concerning loans, a heavy preponderance is to be noted of commitments for the transport and communications sectors (highway projects of IDA, the Federal Republic of Germany and of the EDF; railroad project of IDA and of the CCE) [as written in text: CCCE?]; and for the sector of international trade and financing (economic cooperation agreement with the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic).

In the sector of natural resources supplementary commitments were made for the "Andekaleka Hydroelectric Development" project. Finally, considerable amounts were allocated to the agriculture sector to develop rice and cotton production.

The principal sources of new loans granted remain Algeria (commercial agreement) amounting to \$60 million, the International Development Association (IDA--World Bank group) with \$35 million for four new projects, the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE--France) which granted \$28.7 million and the Federal Republic of Germany, with a total of \$25.6 million. Concerning conditions under which the loans granted, the interest rates vary between 0.75 percent and 6 percent. The duration of loans can be divided into two groups: one group falling due within 10 to 20 years; the other between 30 and 50 years, with grace periods varying between 3 to 6 years.

Since government authorities consider Madagascar's global foreign indebtedness as still quite small compared to other developing countries, and because of the national economy's favorable prospects for the next 3 or 6 years, a continued increase in capital assistance for the years to come is to be expected, as well as a diversification of sources of foreign financing of investments, pursuant to the RDM's "all directions" policy.

9772

CNO: 4400

BRIEFS

TANATAVE PORT CONGESTION--Toamasina. For some time there has been much discussion of the congestion at the autonomous port of Toamasina. Urgently needed produce such as rice, table oil and cement have accumulated. The director general of the port met with journalists after having invited them to visit the site. He explained to them the different reasons that might be the cause of the temporary congestion: owners of merchandise who have not completed administrative formalities; inadequate transport facilities. He indicated that sometimes around 28,000 tons of merchandise accumulate in the port. However, the putting into service of 128 trucks, including two semi-trailers and two vans (gifts from the GDR) unloaded last Thursday could in part resolve this problem. Double axle IFAW-50 trucks have a 5 to 8 ton capacity and are well adapted to our highways. It is believed that these trucks will soon be handed over to the transport cooperatives. It is to be noted that Thursday, during the truck reception ceremonies, presided over by the PCE of faritany (expansion unknown), M Lahady Samuel, two boats were unloaded, the first, a Burmese, with 6000 tons of white rice from the Socialist Republic of Burma, and the second 3000 barrels of table oil. [Text] Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 23 Oct 80 p 1] 9772

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

BATA SHOE COMPANY--Mzuzu, Thursday--Construction work is in progress on a K100,000 Bata Shoe Company (Malawi) Limited complex in Mzuzu Municipality. Work on the building is being carried out by Lusitania Limited. The Bata Shoe Company are presently operating from loaned buildings near the Mzuzu bus stage. According to the company's retail merchandiser, Mr. H.W. Mfune, the building which is now at roofing stage will accommodate a retail shop and a wholesale depot. He said: "It is our hope that when the building is completed the company will be able to provide its customers with the most efficient and up to date services." "The company's goal is to match with the fast development which is taking place in the country by providing its customers with the best services wherever necessary," Mr Mfune added. The company has other smaller shops in Mzimba and Karonga besides the shop in Mzuzu. Future plans for the company include building other smaller shops in Rumphi and Nkhata Bay districts, he said. Work on the building which began last July is scheduled for completion in February next year.--MANA

FISH FARM PLAN--Nkhata Bay, Sunday--The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Representative in Malawi, Mr. R.A. Borthwick has said that his organisation, in conjunction with the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and the Fisheries Department, is trying to bring fish to the people in the Northern Region at a cheaper price. Mr. Borthwick said that since the lake in the North was far deeper than in the South, the fish stock were therefore in lesser quantities. "But to supplement the shortage the UNDP, in co-operation with the Government is looking into possibilities of establishing fish farming as an integral part of other farming activities in the rural areas in order to increase fish production," he said. The UNDP Representative said that this method of increasing fish production has been successful elsewhere and he saw no reason why it should not succeed here. Speaking about the fisheries expansion project which is being financed by his organisation, Mr. Borthwick said that it was intended to expand the activities of the project which, apart from aiming at ensuring increased fish production would also provide the people with employment opportunities in the fishing industry.--MANA [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 10 Nov 80 p 1]

AIRLINE ACQUIRES SECOND JET--Blantyre, Sunday--Air Malawi Limited has acquired a second BAC 1-11 jet to support the similar one already in service in their regional flights, which covers Salisbury, Lusaka, Nairobi and Johannesburg. The jet, registered Number 7Q YKK, started its scheduled flights on Friday. It is on a two-year lease contract from Hapag-Lloyd Limited in Frankfurt, West Germany. The aircraft has room for 80 passengers and space for freight. The General Manager of Air Malawi, Captain M.O'Donovan told MANA in an interview that the new BAC 1-11

can cruise at a speed of 550 miles an hour at altitudes varying from 35,000-37,000 feet. "For the past six months the other jet has been operating between Malawi, Salisbury, Nairobi, Lusaka, Johannesburg, plus the WENELA contract, working six days a week at an average of 10 hours daily," Mr. J.S. Fox, Air Malawi's Engineering Manager said. Commenting on domestic flights, Captain M'Donovan said Malawi was adequately covered on air services. [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 10 Nov 80 p 1]

LOAN FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--Blantyre, Monday--Details of a three year loan for K4,000,000 to be raised by the Government have been announced in a press release by the Reserve Bank of Malawi, acting as agents for the Ministry of Finance. The proceeds of the loan will be used to finance development projects in Malawi and for the repayment of a maturing debt. Interest will be paid at the rate of 10 and 1/4 percent per annum and the loan will be repaid on November 19, 1983. The list of applications will be opened at 8.00 a.m. on Wednesday, November 19, 1980 and will be closed at 11.30 a.m. on the same day. Interest payments will be made twice a year on May 19 and November 19. The first payment will be made on May 19, 1981 on the amount of stock allotted. Holders of the five year K4,000,000 Government of Malawi 8 percent Local Registered Stock November 1980, which matures on November 19, 1980 are offered conversion rights into this new issue at par and will have preferential allotment over other applicants, said the announcement. Applications must be for not less than K20 of Stock or in multiples thereof. The full payment of K100 percent is payable on application. Prospectuses giving full details of the loan will be advertised in the Press and copies may also be obtained from Reserve Bank of Malawi, from the Secretary to the Treasury, Lilongwe; from branches of the commercial banks in Malawi, from the New Building Society and from the District Commissioners, said the announcement. [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 11 Nov 80 p 1]

CSO: 4420

PHARMACEUTICAL POLICY WILL NEUTRALIZE TRANSNATIONALS' ACTIVITIES

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 18 Oct 80 pp 2, 7

[Excerpts] The minister of health, Pascoal Mocumbi, in a roundtable discussion held several days ago in the capital, stressed that the struggle against multinational firms had to be carried out through our country's pharmaceutical policy; Swiss specialist Prof Georges Peters, who is ending his visit to Mozambique today, participated.

In the meeting on "Pharmaceutical Policy in the RPM [People's Republic of Mozambique], a basic issue in providing health services to the people, Minister Mocumbi reviewed the steps taken in our country to define a national pharmaceutical policy.

Importance of the Subject

In his speech, Mocumbi began by explaining that the pharmaceutical policy is an integral part of the country's health policy, as defined by FRELIMO Party and implemented by the Ministry of Health.

"It is important to speak of the pharmaceutical policy," said the minister of health. "It is important because of the social and economic consequences arising from its definition. It is important, too, because in most countries, it has not yet been spelled out.

"We should wonder why many countries still do not have a coherent plan for a national pharmaceutical policy. If we reflect seriously on this matter, we find the explanation in the work done by multinational companies, in the pharmaceutical lobby and their domination of the international market.

"Today, the problem cannot be considered outside the political concept of each nation. It is no accident that the socialist countries have national pharmaceutical policies while only a small percentage of capitalist countries do.

Armed Struggle--Point of Departure

"We know Mozambique's situation prior to independence: thousands of medicines available; an advertising agent from the international laboratories for every five doctors (more than in France); no regulation of prescriptions and no mechanisms to control the quality of products available.

"In this anarchy, gifts and bribes went hand in hand with the illegal export of currency.

"This situation had to be ended when the people's power was installed. The RPM tried to create solid foundations in all areas. The health field, and consequently pharmaceutical activity, is a well-known example of everything reorganized.

"Thus, the RPM established bases for a national policy, before WHO took any specific action, even before WHO could discuss the problem openly.

National List of Medicines

"In January 1977 (many months before WHO drew up a list of 200 essential medicines), our first national list of medicines was published in Mozambique, limiting the number of pharmaceutical products to 390 (including galenic preparations) for use by the National Health Service.

"From that time, medicines had to be prescribed from the list by their generic names. This prohibition on the use of pharmaceutical brand names made the entire propaganda support structure for multinational pharmaceutical firms unnecessary.

"We can say today that the negative propaganda of the large international laboratories died a natural death in our country, judging from the reduction in the number of firms, pamphlets and advertising agents, even though no special regulatory legislation has been published.

National Pharmaceutical Industry

"A national pharmaceutical industry is being drafted and the study phase is almost concluded. It will not only reduce our dependence on multinational pharmaceutical firms, but also current costs for products used.

"Local production of medicines will be directed toward maximum use of local resources, using packing materials already produced in our country; an investigation of our rich plant resources will be expanded so that, sooner or later, we can obtain local raw materials.

Regulation of Distribution

"Regulating medicine distribution continues to be a problem, despite the improvement in recent years. However, it still concerns us.

"Therefore, a study on this matter was ordered; it will be a basis for deciding how to overcome our problems in transporting and distributing medicine.

"In WHO, this matter is now openly discussed because of the action of socialist and nonaligned countries. The struggle with multinational firms will not be easy, however.

"It must be done, and the subject must be brought up whenever possible, since the results obtained which are now visible, represent an inestimable benefit to the health of people throughout the world, specially in the least protected countries: the developing countries."

9479

CSO: 4401

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

BANKING OFFICIAL TO BULGARIA--The minister-governor of the Bank of Mozambique, Sergio Vieira, is making a friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at the invitation of the president of the National Bank of Bulgaria, Prof Vasselin Nikiforov. High-ranking officials from the Bank of Mozambique and the People's Development Bank are accompanying Minister Vieira. In Sofia, the minister-governor already attended the autumn session of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank. All bank governors from the socialist countries in CEMA participated in this session. After this visit to strengthen bilateral financial and banking cooperation, Vieira will go to Budapest, at the invitation of the president of the National Bank of Hungary, Dr Matyas Tinar. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Oct 80 p 1] 9479

CSO: 4401

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL TO DPRK--Returning from Pyongyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, where he represented his country at the sixth congress of the PTC [Labor Party of Korea], Amado Vaz, a member of the Political Bureau of the MLSTP [Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe], stopped over in Angola. The MLSTP Political Bureau member stressed the PTC proposals on the reunification of the country and announced that an international conference on the peaceful reunification of Korea would be held in the near future in the Democratic Republic of Algeria. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 20 Oct 80 p 8] 9479

CSO: 4401

CONSTITUTION OF UGANDA PEOPLE'S CONGRESS PUBLISHED

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 30, 31 Oct, 1 Nov 80

[30 Oct 80 p 4]

[Text] 1. Name: The name of party shall be "The Uganda People's Congress (UPC) referred to in this constitution as "the Party").

2. Emblem: The emblem of the Party shall be "The Open Hand" (for peace, unity and justice).

3. Flag: (1) There shall be the flag of the Party of tricolour: black (for African personality), red (for human equality and brotherhood) and blue (for peace and justice).

(2) The party tricolour flag shall be horizontal with black on the top, the red in the middle, followed by the blue.

4. Aims and objectives: (1) To build the republic of Uganda as one country with one people, one parliament and one government.

(2) To defend the independence and sovereignty of Uganda and maintain peace and tranquility, and to preserve the Republican Constitution of Uganda.

(3) To organise the Party to enable the people to participate in framing the destiny of our country.

(4) To fight relentlessly against poverty, ignorance, disease, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and apartheid.

(5) To plan Uganda's economic development in such a way that the government, through the parastatal bodies, the cooperative movements, private companies, individuals in industry, commerce and agriculture, will effectively contribute to increased production to raise the standard of living in the country.

(6) To protect without discrimination based on race, colour, sex or religion every person lawfully living in Uganda and enable him to enjoy the fundamental rights and freedom of the individual that is to say:

- (i) Life, liberty, security of the person and protection of the law;
- (ii) Freedom of conscience, of expression and association;
- (iii) Protection of privacy of his home, property and from deprivation of property without compensation.
- (7) To ensure that no citizen of Uganda will enjoy any special privilege, status or title by virtue of birth, descent or heradity.
- (8) To ensure that in the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms no person shall be allowed to prejudice the right and freedoms of others and the interests of the state.
- (9) To support organisations, whether international or otherwise, whose aims, objectives and aspirations are consistent with those of the Party.
- (10) To do such other things that are necessary for the achievement of the aims, objectives and aspirations of the Party.

5. Membership of the Party

The membership of the Party shall be open to any citizen of Uganda who:

- (i) accepts the aims and objectives of the Party.
- (ii) is of the age of 18 or over.
- (iii) is not a member of any other political party.
- (iv) does not support tribalism and parochialism, and
- (v) has paid admission fee and membership dues as prescribed by the National Council.

6. The Annual Delegates Conference

There shall be Annual Delegates Conference which shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall be composed of the following:

- (i) The members of the National Council.
- (ii) The Members per Parliamentary Constituency; elected by the Parliamentary Constituency Conference annually.

7. Duties of the Annual Delegates Conference:

- (1) The Annual Delegates Conference shall lay down the broad basic policies of the Party;
- (2) The Annual Delegates Conference shall enact or amend the constitution of the Party;

(3) The Annual Delegates Conference shall be the sole body to elect the president of the Party;

(4) The president shall, immediately after his election, appoint a vice-president, treasurer and assistant treasurer, secretary general, assistant secretary-general and the national chairman and national vice-chairman, all of whom shall be members of the Central Executive Committee. The president shall have powers to dismiss or replace any of the members so appointed by him;

(5) The president shall hold office for a term of seven years;

(6) The president shall relinquish office on being required to do so by a resolution supported by a two-thirds majority at the Annual Delegates Conference. The motion for the resolutions must be signed by at least one-half of the members of the National Council;

(7) A president removed under article (6) shall not be eligible for re-election;

(8) The Annual Delegates Conference shall consider reports from the president on matters affecting the Party and the country.

(9) To elect a new president in case of death, resignation or retirement while in office.

8. The National Council:

There shall be the National Council of the Party, which shall be composed as follows:

(1) Members of the Central Executive Committee.

(11) One member per Parliamentary Constituency to be elected by the Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committee.

9. Duties of the National Council:

The duties of the National Council shall be as follows:

(1) To carry out the policy of the Party as laid down by the Annual Delegates Conference;

(2) To establish a cadre of paid staff at the national headquarters and in parliamentary constituencies;

(3) To organise, guide and supervise Party activities in districts, constituencies and branches;

(4) To raise and control the finances of the Party and consider reports and audited accounts submitted by the Central Executive Committee;

(5) Subject to ratification by the Annual Delegates Conference, to make rules and standing orders for the implementation and enforcement of the Party constitution;

(6) To discipline (including powers to dismiss) Party members who may commit breaches of the Party's constitution, including any rules made thereunder, to dissolve branches of the Party and to hear appeals from individual members of the Party;

(7) To discipline, dismiss or dissolve any executive committee of the Party;

(8) To initiate and undertake such activities as may further the aims and objectives of the Party;

(9) To determine the rates of any dues or fees payable to the Party by Party members or branches thereof; and the National Council may by resolution delegate any of its powers to the Central Executive Committee as it may seem necessary.

[31 Oct 80 p 4]

[Text] 10. The Central Executive Committee:

There shall be a Central Executive Committee of the Party which shall be composed as follows:

(i) The president of the Party;

(ii) The vice president, secretary-general, treasury, assistant secretary general, assistant treasurer, national chairman and national vice-chairman of the Party;

(iii) Two members to be elected by the District Executive Committee from among themselves.

11. Functions of the Central Executive Committee:

The Central Executive Committee shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and policies of the National Council and of the National Annual Delegates Conference, for ensuring that such decisions and policies are duly and performed by all Party organs and members.

12. Branch Organisation of the Party:

The Party shall establish Party branches in each "muluka" or ward in which there are at least 25 Party members: [numbering as published]

(2) Each branch shall at a general meeting elect branch chairman, who shall then appoint branch vice-chairman, treasurer and assistant treasurer, secretary and assistant secretary.

(3) Each branch shall hold an annual general meeting, at which it shall elect seven other persons who together with branch Party officials shall form the branch executive.

(4) Application for the registration of any branch shall be forwarded to the national headquarters Secretariat through the Parliamentary Constituency Executive. No Party branch shall be registered without approval of the Parliamentary Constituency Executive.

(5) The branch shall organise and propagate the Party's principles in the area in accordance with Party policy, rules and standing orders.

13. The Party Committees:

(1) There shall be a Party Parliamentary Committee for the National Assembly and a District Council Party Committee for each district;

(2) The Party Parliamentary Committee shall consist of Party members of the National Assembly;

(3) The District Council Party Committee shall consist of Party members of the district council;

(4) The chairman of the Party Parliamentary Committee shall be the president or in his absence any other member of parliament nominated by him.

In the absence of the president's nominee the Parliamentary Committee shall elect from among themselves a temporary chairman. The chairman of the District Council Party Committee shall be the party leader in the council who shall be elected by the members of council immediately after the district council elections and in his absence his nominee.

(5) The duties of the Party Parliamentary Committee shall be to consider government business or parliamentary business before such matters are submitted to the house for debate. When the Party Parliamentary Committee has approved any matter submitted to it by the appropriate Party organ all Party members shall support and vote for such matters in the National Assembly or District Council.

(6) The duties of the District Party Committee in relation to the District Council shall be the same as those of the Party Parliamentary Committee in relation to the National Assembly.

(7) Any misbehaviour on the part of the Party members in the National Assembly or District Council shall be reported to the Party Disciplinary Committee.

14. Disciplinary Committee:

There shall be a disciplinary committee which shall consist of the Party president and four other members appointed by the National Council. The duties of the Disciplinary Committee shall be to enforce the discipline of the Party, including the suspension of members, and to report to the National Council and to enforce the rules and standing orders of the Party.

15. Party Funds:

(1) The general funds of the Party shall be derived from Party functions, donations, subscriptions and from such other sources approved by the National Council.

(2) A receipt bearing the Party's name and the signature of the president, treasurer, or the secretary-general shall be issued for all monies paid to the Party.

This procedure shall apply to the constituencies and branches. All monies from every Parliamentary Constituency and Branch Executive shall be paid to the general funds of the Party into a bank authorised by the Central Executive.

(3) Allocation of funds for expenditure to parliamentary constituencies and branches shall be done centrally at the national headquarters Secretariat in accordance with rules made by the National Council.

(4) Any member who acts contrary to the rules of the Party either in the collection of funds or in any other matter, may be subjected to disciplinary action as provided for in article 14.

16. Meetings of the Party:

(1) Annual Delegates Conference shall meet annually. The president of the Party shall call the conference by notice in writing, stating the agenda, date, place and time of the meeting, giving one month's notice.

The president may call an emergency meeting of the Annual Delegates Conference as he deems necessary, giving two weeks' notice of such a meeting.

(2) The Central Executive Committee shall meet regularly every two months. The meeting shall be called by the president by notice in writing, stating the place, date and time of the meeting, giving two weeks' notice.

The president may call an emergency meeting of the Central Executive whenever he deems it necessary and shall give 48 hours' notice of such a meeting.

(3) The National Council shall meet regularly every 4 months. The president shall call the meeting by notice in writing, stating the place, date and time of the meeting, giving two weeks' notice.

The president may call an emergency meeting of the National Council whenever he deems this necessary and shall give 48 hours' notice of such a meeting.

(4) The District Party Executive Committee shall meet every three months to consider general matters affecting the Party in the district. The chairman of the District Party Executive shall rotate among the parliamentary constituency chairmen in the district.

The meeting of the District Party Executive Committee shall be called by the chairman in writing, stating the place, date and time of the meeting and giving two weeks' notice. An emergency meeting may be called by the chairman whenever he deems it necessary giving three days' notice for such a meeting.

(5) The Parliamentary Constituency Conference shall meet every six months. The conference shall be called by the chairman by notice in writing, stating the place, date and time of the meeting, giving two weeks' notice.

(6) The Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committee shall meet once every month. The meeting of the Constituency Executive Committee shall be called by the chairman by notice in writing, stating the place, date, time and giving one week's notice.

(7) The Branch Executive Committee shall meet once every month. The meeting shall be called by the branch chairman, giving notice to all members of such a period as he may think fit.

17. Quorum: The quorum for meetings of the different organs of the Party shall be as follows:

(a) The quorum for the Annual Delegates Conference, the National Council and the Parliamentary Constituency Party Conference shall be one-half of all the members;

(b) The quorum for the Central Executive, District Party Executive, Parliamentary Constituency Executive and the meetings of branch organisations shall be one-third of all the members.

18. Appointment of headquarters staff:

1. The Central Executive Committee shall be responsible for the appointment of the National Headquarters staff. The appointment shall be within the limits of establishment authorised by the National Council.

2. The president shall be responsible for the supervision and allocation of duties of the staff at the National Headquarters.

[1 Nov 80 p 4]

(text) 3. The president may delegate his power under this article to the secretary-general, the treasurer or any other national party officials.

19. Composition of the District Party Executive Committee:

The District Party Executive shall be composed of the following:

1. Chairman of each of the Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committees in the district.

2. Three other members elected by each of the Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committee in the district.

The Central Executive Committee shall make rules and standing orders covering the procedures of meetings of the District Executive Committee, appointment of the secretary, the keeping of records and channel of communication with the Headquarters and the Parliamentary Constituency Executive.

20. Appointment of Parliamentary Constituency Staff:

1. The Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committee shall be responsible for the appointment of the constituency paid staff.

2. The constituency chairman shall be responsible for the supervision of the paid staff. He may delegate his power to the secretary or such other Party officials as he may deem necessary.

21. Conditions of service of staff:

The National Council shall make rules and regulations governing terms and conditions of service of the staff of the National Headquarters Secretariat, district headquarters staff and such other staff as the National Council may from time to time authorise.

22. Constituency Party organisations:

There shall be Party Constituency organisations for every parliamentary seat, which shall consist of all the branches in that constituency.

23. The Parliamentary Constituency:

The Parliamentary Constituency shall have a Constituency Conference and Constituency Executive Committee.

24. The Parliamentary Constituency Conference:

The constituency shall be composed as follows:

- (1) The member of parliament for that constituency;
- (2) The members of the district council and members of urban authorities and council members from that parliamentary constituency, provided that where a member of the district council having part of another parliamentary constituency, such a member shall be qualified for membership for both parliamentary constituencies;
- (3) The Executive Committee of every branch to the constituency possessing the Party registration certificate;
- (4) Ten persons elected by the branch general meeting from among members who are not Party officials;
- (5) The chairman who shall be elected by the conference.

25. The duties of Parliamentary Constituency Conference:

- (1) To implement the policy of the Party in that constituency;
- (2) To lay down principles in conformity with the policy of the Party concerning the effective propagation, organisation and supervision of the Party activities in that constituency;
- (3) To consider reports from the constituency executive;
- (4) To approve the appointment by the Parliamentary Constituency Executive, Party paid staff for that constituency as may be established by the National Council from time to time;
- (5) To elect the constituency chairman who shall appoint the vice-chairman, treasurer, assistant treasurer, secretary and assistant secretary.

(b) To elect seven persons to the Constituency Executive from among members of the conference who are not Party officials of the constituency.

26. The Parliamentary Constituency Executive composition:

The Parliamentary Constituency Executive shall be composed as follows:

(1) The parliamentary constituency chairman, who shall be chairman of the executive;

(2) The Party officials of the parliamentary constituency.

(3) Seven persons elected by the parliamentary constituency who are not constituency party officials;

27. Duties of the Parliamentary Constituency Executive Committee:

(1) To execute the Party policy as laid down by the Annual Delegates' Conference, the National Council, District Party Council and the Constituency Conference;

(2) To organise, assist and supervise Party branches in that constituency and to organise and supervise national and district council elections as directed by the National Council Elections Committee.

(3) To submit reports to the Parliamentary Constituency Conference on the progress and the activities of the Party in the Constituency;

(4) To do such other things to promote the aims and objectives of the Party.

28. Presidential Electoral Commission:

The president of the Party shall appoint members of the Party to constitute the Presidential Electoral Commission which commission will process applications from Party members for candidature for the National Assembly, consult with Party organs on any application and approve, on behalf of the National Council, candidates for the National Assembly elections.

CSU: 4420

NEW UPC CONSTITUTION CALLED DICTATORIAL

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 3 Nov 80 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Uganda Peoples Congress (U.P.C.) has published its party Constitution which is a direct reflection of the "pigeon-hole" 1967 Uganda Constitution that placed all powers in the President.

Article 7 of the U.P.C. Constitution on "Duties of the Annual Delegates Conference" section 4 (see UGANDA TIMES of 30.10.80) says:

"The President shall, immediately after his election, appoint a vice-president, treasurer and assistant treasurer, secretary-general, assistant secretary general and the national chairman and national vice-chairman, all of whom shall be members of the Central Executive Committee. The President shall have powers to dismiss or replace any of the members so appointed by him."

Such arrangement presupposes that any U.P.C. intending to occupy any of those posts has to be in the pockets of the President of the party and has to do what his master wants or else he/she faces an axe. It gives the President of the U.P.C. dictatorial powers against his executive.

The investing of all powers in the U.P.C. party President by its Constitution also forecasts that once U.P.C. comes to power, a new National Constitution similar to the 1967 Constitution may be made and this may give powers to the President of Uganda the right to nominate members of Parliament of his own choice in a similar manner Bidandi Ssali nominated N.C.C. members and District Councilors.

The U.P.C. in all its campaigns has been vowing to adhere and follow democratic principles telling the electorate that all its party posts will be elective until last week when its Constitution showed the opposite.

(SU: 4420

BACKGROUND FOR ALLEGED DICTATORSHIP PROVIDED

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 3 Nov 80 p 2

[Text]

In order to make meaningful speculation on what would follow if U.P.C. "won" the December elections and Obote became President, one has to go way back to the pre-Amin period and examine U.P.C. policies and activities at that time.

By the time Obote was overthrown he had over one hundred political prisoners who had never been taken to a court of law. These included Grace Ibingira, Mathias Ngobi, Barak Kiriya, George Magezi, Shaban Opolot, Ben Kiwanuka and Paul Ssemogerere. The first five had been in prison for five years and had no hope of ever being released until the Amin coup came to their rescue.

All other political parties, save U.P.C., had been banned and with Akena Adoko's General Service Unit (GSU), all political and other dissidents were hunted, terrorised and tortured. The economy had gone into stagnation following Obote's ill-planned nationalisation of various private companies. There was as much insecurity as there is today with armed GSUs policing and terrorising and looting as they went.

So when Obote says he is going "to continue from where he left off, he means just that. It is no joke.

POLITICAL AREA:

Immediately UPC assumes power it would outlaw all activities of other parties and consequently ban them. The present apparent support for multipartyism is only window-dressing. The leaders and the key supporters of D.P., U.P.M. and C.P. would be thrown in jail. Their fate would then be just as that of the hundreds of Obote's political prisoners.

The current revival of democracy would be forgotten. U.P.C. will proceed to appoint councillors local and municipal as they did in the 60s. Political and other appointments would be given to U.P.C. only regardless of competence.

THE ECONOMY:

The frustration resulting from the above political policies would affect the economy adversely. There will be no incentive to work—especially for the good of the nation. The "go slow" and "don't care" mood in which most people are both in the public and private services would assume even higher proportions.

Foreign capital investment will be scared away by the "anti-West" stance of U.P.C. This will mean that little progress, if any, will be made in rehabilitation let alone actual development.

The vengeful attitude of U.P.C. and Obote may result in coffee and food production dropping. The possible re-allocation of businesses which the U.P.C. is going to mount may cause so much confusion that for quite sometime goods will be bought on black market.

SECURITY:

Akena Adoko will once again head his GSU. With his past experience together with the trainees just returned from Cuba, Kampala and Uganda as a whole will be hit by gestapo-like spying and torture that is bound to be worse than the State Research Bureau of Amin. Akena Adoko had armed all his General Service Unit spies to the teeth. In order to survive they robbed and terrorised. "Konde" activities hit the climax in Obote's era. Many people will be accused of collaborating with subversive elements and will be arrested.

Many liberation movements will inevitably mushroom in and outside Uganda. These movements enjoying popular support will be difficult to fight.

THE EXODUS:

The Ugandan refugees now outside Uganda will not return home. Nobody who has had contacts with U.P.C. can be foolish enough to trust their amnesties. More professionals will leave Uganda in search of security and reasonable working conditions. The number will be the highest this time because all hope will have been lost.

FOREIGN RELATIONS:

The extreme socialist line that U.P.C. would like to follow, will alienate many countries especially in the West. This alienation will discourage foreign investments from our traditional sources.

This will be a death-blow because at the moment Uganda needs a lot of aid in order to start on rehabilitation which has not yet been tackled. Sudan/Ugandan exiles in the Sudan would not return. It would be suicide to return. These refugees could then be tempted into attacking Uganda from time to time. Zaire would be in very much the same position.

The security position obtaining compounded by external incursions discussed above would necessitate more troops and armaments. The T.P.D.F. would need reinforcements. The Average Ugandan will then

associate Tanzania with U.P.C.'s oppression which will result into resentment and hatred of Tanzania.

FREEDOMS:

The first casualty will be the freedom of the press. U.P.C.'s idea of the freedom of the press is what Ben Bella's **UGANDA TIMES** does: — You must praise U.P.C. and Obote, full stop. Any publication that criticizes them will be banned.

Radio Uganda and T.V. will broadcast programmes daily praising U.P.C. and Obote just as they did before 1971.

The freedom of movement will continue to be restricted by road-blocks and searches that never yield any meaningful results.

Freedom of speech will be forgotten. You will have to look behind your shoulder before saying anything. The GSU will be in active work.

By June 1981 the national service camps will be ready. And as the "Move TO THE LEFT" documents spell out all able-bodied persons will be required to go to various camps for National Service (Akasanvu).

By December 1981, the destruction of Uganda will have been completed. UPC will be the only party; **UGANDA TIMES** will be the only newspaper; the economy will have stagnated; the hospitals and schools will be worse than they are today and those who will be lucky to keep alive will have perfected the art of living in the bush.

CAR THEFTS, GASOLINE SHORTAGE BELIEVED POLITICAL PLOT

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 80 pp 1, 8

[Text] As the registration of voters comes to an end and the four political parties preparing for hectic second and final phase of public rallies, there has emerged a rampant stealing of motor vehicles at gunpoint, the creation of numerous road blocks and the torture of innocent civilians by uniformed men.

Armed men in army uniforms have been accused of being involved in this evil act as nearly on all occasions were seen taking vehicles especially lorries, pickups and minibuses at gunpoint. These men have been and are still stealing vehicles on the "pretext" of the current fighting in West Nile on the Uganda borders with Zaire and Sudan.

However, according to "The Citizen" investigation the reason advanced by these men was found to be invalid as the fighting in West Nile was not so serious as to warrant the hijacking of civilian vehicles. Further still it was established that the government provided vehicles to transport soldiers to Arua or Koboko the scene of the fighting.

Reports unearthed by "The Citizen" allege that the car theft now going on is being instigated by a certain political party--so that it can have enough vehicles at its disposal when the campaigning resumes and during the election period for their members. Reports further reveal that the same party, through its top officers within the government, plan to freeze petrol supplies to all the civilian population except to their members who will have to get chits for fuel supply. With most vehicles and fuel at their exclusive disposal, that party believes, will be able to carry out smooth campaigning and thus win the forthcoming elections while on the other hand incapacitating the endeavours of other rival parties.

A number of roadblocks have been erected within the city manned by members of the Uganda Police, Tanzanian Police and UNLA. The government has up to now not given any explanation to this effect. A number of innocent citizens have been forced to "cough" some money before they are allowed to pass, lucky ones have managed to pass through without "coughing" while the unlucky ones have been made to squat and been manhandled. One of the victims was a driver of the DP President General who was seriously beaten up and sustained facial injuries, just because his house happened to be at the site of the road block.

Gun-shots and house break-ins both during the day and at night have become a National Anthem. A woman was shot at in the legs at the Bank of Uganda building in mid-morning last week after aimless sporadic shooting by UNLA men guarding the place. In the same week two men were shot in the legs at the new Commercial Bank by men in a moving Datsun car 1204 white in colour while three men were injured in the legs and at the back when UNLA soldiers in a Land Rover vehicle opened fire at them at "Hussein" taxi park on Entebbe road, only to mention but a few incidents.

Meanwhile, reports from Entebbe have revealed that a big consignment of scooters in the names of the Ministry of Defence have arrived in the country. But a struggle for the fittest has also allegedly been started by one party to acquire these scooters. By the time we went to Press allocation had not been made but it is all being done behind curtains.

CSO: 4420

IRREGULARITIES IN VOTER REGISTRATION DECRIED

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 80 pp 3, 6

[Text] Reports reaching the Citizen office from various parts of the country reveal gross irregularities and malpractices in the current election exercise. Some of these are purely administrative while others are deliberate criminal activities.

1. Kidnapping Registration Officers

Two officers, Herbert Kasozi and Mateeka of Bweya and Bwebajja (9 miles Entebbe Rd) centres together with two chiefs were arrested in the night of 10th October and taken to Entebbe. The reason has not been given for the kidnapping or arrest. And by the 16th of October the centres had not resumed registration.

2. Change of Registration Centre

On the 11/10/80 the centre was moved from Kiswa R/C to Bugolobi II without prior warning.

3. Too Few Centres

Jinja

Some areas like Jinja have had too few centres. Jinja has three only. It has proved difficult for people to register quickly in such a place. Two pregnant ladies waited long enough to deliver baby boys in the registration queue.

4. Deliberate Refusal To Register Some Ugandans

In Gomba (Mpigi District) and Bushenyi Districts, officers refused to register some Ugandans on the pretext that they were not citizens. Those refused are generally of the Banyarwanda tribe found near the Rwanda/Uganda border. In Bushenyi this means rejection of about 80 percent would-be voters. It is a pity that the Government has not come up with a clear statement on this issue but instead left the power to disenfranchise Ugandans in the hands of unscrupulous chiefs and some registration officers.

5. Intimidation of People Going To Register

In some parts of Uganda government Ministers and officials have interfered with registration in a number of ways.

A full Minister from Mubende threatened DP supporters openly. In Bushenyi Ministers Yona Kanyomozi and Rurangaranga both dressed in UPC party colours went around addressing registration centres encouraging the rejection of some people from registering. In the same area of Mbale at Buruguru, Michael Mutiru of Bukiende sub-county proceeding to register together with 3 people was detained for two hours by John Khankla (ex-Amin soldier) hired by UPCs. In Iganga District it was invariably reported that a number of DP leaders were arrested by armed personnel and taken to unknown destinations--as we went to press their whereabouts as well as their personal security were in doubt. A DP supporter at Katebo-Ssango in Mawokota (Mpigi) was likewise seized and taken away to unknown place.

6. Appointment of Exclusive UPC Registration Officers

In Bushenyi District, Rubare county, the original list of Registration Officers was dropped and replaced by an exclusive UPC list. Officers so appointed went ahead to implement their party strategy to bar Ugandans from registration.

DP supporters on the pretext that they were non-Ugandans were easily refused to register. One victim is a prospective DP candidate, Mr. Rwivanga. The same thing happened in Mbale District at Bukweta, Busamaga, and Nampanga centres. Haji Sowedi Fagaba and Twaha Makunja were some of those refused to register. DP agents were also refused places at the registration at Bulugaya and many other centres in Mbale District.

Shortage of Registration Materials

In many centres there has been shortage of registration stationery. Centres remained closed for hours and in many places for days. Kisumu centre, Mpigi District, remained closed for about four days for this reason. Gulu District suffered from the same problem and many centres didn't open for days.

In Kasere District no registration took place for the 1st whole week and as we went to press there were no clear indications that it had started.

Undisciplined Officers

Some officers have been (one word illegible) irresponsible and have in some cases, people allege, made clerical mistakes deliberately. Others don't open centres until very late and close them before time with the express purpose of registering as few people as possible.

In Tororo district many centres did not open on the 6th. People had to travel long distances to the few centres. They were not properly directed to the registration centres in other areas and there were no officials to help them.

UPC youths and chiefs have taken over control of the exercise and running the exercise as if it was a UPC monopoly. At Manyulo in Bunyole, West Budama, Hon. Okwenje Minister of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs drives around in UPC colours, ordering officers to do whatever he directs.

There are allegations that some registration officers have sold voters' cards privately. Some unscrupulous people are now trafficking in this illegal trade.

Here in Kampala rumours are circulating of voter's cards being bought at 2,000/- each. And some arrests have already been made of people registering more than once.

CSO: 4420

PLOT OF SECRET UNU SABOTEURS REPORTED REVEALED

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 3 Nov 80 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sam Serwanga]

[Text] One Ugandan now in self-imposed exile, Lameck B. Ntambi, has vowed to create chaos to perpetuate a state of war in this country.

Ntambi, leader of an underground movement, the Uganda National Union (UNU), formed in Kampala during ex-president Godfrey Binaisa's regime, vowed that he would never have to see Uganda at peace.

The chairman of the Military Commission, Mr Paulo Muvunga, revealed this at Mukono when addressing the district team and planning committee.

Muvunga, angered by the general wave of insecurity in which many people had been murdered said: 'Ntambi is understood to be having some connections with some people based here. He said in Nairobi recently that he will never rest until he sees Uganda is in troubles.

"Such threats are real. There are reports that some Ugandans are training in secret places from within to cause chaos and insecurity."

Muvunga referred to certain islands within Lake Victoria where some of the people bent on creating chaos are reportedly training.

Recently, the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) crushed a bitter invasion of northwestern Uganda by ousted dictator Idi Amin's gangsters.

"Many more soldiers than we ever lost in the eight month liberation war between Mutukula and Kampala were killed in the invasion which took a week to repulse.

"But it is disheartening to hear from many people, plus some local newspapers, that the invasion was 'imaginery.'

"Many of these people jubilated when they heard of the invasion; others, especially traders, pushed up prices of foodstuffs. All these were latent signs of welcome to fascist Amin.

"But these people are kidding. You will realise late that you were riding a tiger by welcoming a fascist."

Muwanga, a politician for 30 years now, recounted the sad incidents in which people were murdered by trigger happy men.

Two people were killed when gunmen opened fire at a crowd which was attending a political rally and in another incident seven people were killed in a bar.

"Uganda has seen enough bloodshed. We have thousands of widows and orphans to care for. Enough is enough," the chairman who effectively participated in the liberation war resignedly said.

"Be vigilant and have a critical mind so that you spot out suspicious characters. They should be arrested. If the police is corrupt, unveil them. They will not have it both ways."

He warned chiefs who intimidated people into joining parties of their own affiliations, "None of you has the right to force people to follow a given political party. Watch out. You may face the sack if you intimidate people and condone illegal acts like smuggling and killings."

He was later informed that eight out of the 45 persons suspected of burning a Uganda People's Congress (UPC) supporter alive had been taken to court. They were now on remand.

On a critical appraisal, Muwanga admitted that the Military Commission had not succeeded in stamping out insecurity. "We have had problems because we basically lack some logistics."

The police force was before the war 20,000-men strong. Today they are very few. There are other problems of habitual criminals now loose and those who wanted to settle old scores.

He added that it had been very difficult to supply essential goods. "Many of you have developed selfish tendencies of thinking in terms of 'for God and myself.'"

Many traders had been given foreign exchange to import some of the basic goods. But they had spent it on their own selfish projects.

"I hope the elected government will be able to face all these daunting challenges and we return to the good old days when the issue of the basic goods was not a question to be argued" "before a husband, wife and children."

Later Muwanga, his wife, sister, son and other relatives, drove about 10 miles, a dusty stretch, to attend the 25 years of the recognition of the Nyonyi clan by the then neabataka (chief elder) in the home of the head of the clan, Mr Samwiri Buginga, on Mirembe hill, Kyaggwe.

Muwanga, a prominent grandson of the clan, together with the members of the Military Commission gave 120,000/- to the clan. By the end of the ceremony, more than 247,951/- had been collected for the clan.

Muwanga asked the clan members to think outwardly and "interact with peoples from other areas."

The clan has an ambitious plan of constructing offices, at a cost of 2.5m/- at Mengo, near Kampala.

Members of the clan presented to Muwanga and his wife gifts.

CSO: 4420

GANGSTERS REPORTED POISED TO ATTACK SEBEI DISTRICT

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 24 Oct 80 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sam Wakholi]

[Text] Hundreds of ex-soldiers of dictator Idi Amin's defeated army who fled into the forests of Sebei District along Mount Elgon, have regrouped and are poised to attack Kapchorwa town, a highly-placed government source has disclosed in Mbale.

The bandits, the source said, are in close contact with a group of disgruntled politicians who have been training rebels in a neighbouring country.

"The intention of the rebels is to destroy the lives and property in Kapchorwa, the source alleged. The rebels are concentrated in the forested hills of Benet and Kapenguria in the Mount Elgon area.

A big number of ex-soldiers and officers in the dictator's army escaped with arms to Kenya through Sebei during the liberation war. The authorities it is alleged fully aware of the activities of the National Consultative Council (NCC) member for Kapchorwa District, Mr Charles Ndiwa Chemaswet.

Chemaswet, who now lives in West Pokot District of western Kenya, was reported to have paid a secret visit to Sebei before a group of heavily armed thugs posing as cattle-rustlers stormed and wiped out a police post at the border town of Bukwa. The assault on Bukwa left many policemen and local residents dead and property looted or destroyed.

According to the source, the raid coincided with another incident in which some members of the people's militia who were stationed in the area rebelled against government authorities and fled to the bush with their arms. The rebels later attacked members of Kanchorwa District Team and Planning Committee and destroyed a house in which they were staying, and several government vehicles.

However, officials in Kapchorwa have said the situation in the district was not very grave.

The Chairman of the Military Commission, Mr Paulo Mwanaga, said over the weekend that enemies of Uganda operating both from outside and inside the country had planned to invade from various sides and also start trouble internally.

CSO: 4420

ANOTHER FOOD CRISIS IN KARAMOJA SEEN AS POSSIBILITY

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 9 Oct 80 pp 8, 18

[Text] The Karamoja famine is presently contained but international aid officials are worried the northeastern region may lapse into yet another food crisis by the end of the year.

Famine in Karamoja, undoubtedly Uganda's top story this year in the local and international news media, reached catastrophic proportions in July and August, claiming more than 15 lives a day.

While international relief organisations rushed emergency food supplies to the region in August and September to contain the famine, the Karamojong suffered yet another setback in the form of poor yields from the annual harvests.

So without additional food aid to feed the region throughout the next year, more Karamojong are likely to die of starvation.

A World Food Programme (WFP) official in Kampala said recently that there is just enough emergency relief food in Uganda presently to sustain the region through the end of the year.

Originally, international aid officials had hoped that this year's harvests would be adequate enough to supplement the emergency food relief and feed the region well into next year.

But the officials are finding their estimates were a bit too optimistic and Karamoja surely will need additional food aid, as early as January.

This year's harvests were minimal due to a shorter-than-usual rainfall and the starving Karamojong's inability to work in the shambas.

The WFP estimates that currently 65,000 men, women and children in the region are being sustained just above the starvation level through daily feedings from the international relief organisations working in Karamoja.

After seeing the dismal harvests, the organisations predicted that more than 120,000 persons would need to be fed by the end of the year.

But as the need for food increases each day, officials now believe the number of persons needing food could well soar to more than 200,000 nearly two-thirds of the entire Karamoja population.

If the officials' predictions are correct and the emergency food supplies prove inadequate, Karamoja could face another famine unless additional relief is obtained within the next two months.

The present food relief operations, being coordinated by the WFP, are concentrated at 10 feeding centres throughout the region.

Each feeding station is being staffed by volunteers from more than 15 international relief organisations.

And each mission in Karamoja also is acting as an emergency food relief centres.

The aid organisations also have launched a massive feeding programme through all schools in Karamoja, whereby each student is given at least two meals a day.

While the bulk of the emergency food supplies came from the French government, aid also was provided by the United Nations' High Commission for Refugees, Oxfam of the United Kingdom, the German Red Cross, United States' USAID, UNICEF, CARE, European Economic Community, Catholic Relief, Islamic Solidarity Fund of Jeda and the governments of Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Australia, Holland the Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, the international aid organisations and the Uganda government are working on long-term measures to avert another catastrophic famine in Karamoja.

In Matany and Nabilatuk, for instance, a pilot "food for work" programme has been launched.

This programme concentrates on improving roads in the areas to improve access to remote regions, improving wells for drinking and agricultural purposes and encouraging more productive farming.

Currently, an Oxfam team is touring the region to identify other future projects such as additional food storage facilities in Karamoja.

This year's famine was heightened by the initial lack of security in the region and forced relief organisations to suspend food relief operations temporarily after one of the food convoys was attacked by raiders.

The WFP official in Kampala said none of the convoys have been attacked since operations were resumed in August.

While the international organisations mounted emergency food relief measures, several Ugandan organisations mobilised to assist the drought-stricken Karamoja region.

These actions clearly were signs that Ugandans ready to assist their less fortunate brothers and sisters and to fight against hunger in Uganda.

UGANDA

BRIEFS

EEC AID FOR POULTRY--The European Economic Community (EEC) has granted \$1m/- to rehabilitate the poultry industry in Uganda. This was approved by the commissioner at a meeting on October 8. The project will provide for repair of the hatchery at Entebbe and the import of 100,000 parent stock chicks, 120,000 pullet chicks, 12,000 broiler and 50,000 hatching eggs. The chickens will be used to restock government farms. But later they will be sold directly to farmers. The project to be implemented by the ministry of animal industry and fisheries is expected to be an important step in making poultry products easily available in Uganda at reasonable prices. The grant is part of EEC's assistance to Uganda under the Lomé convention. Under this programme a substantial part of the assistance is given to projects which will enable Uganda to become self-sufficient in food production.
[Text] [Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 1 Nov 80 p 1]

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NATION BROUGHT TO STANDSTILL BY STRIKES

London WEST AFRICA in English 17 Nov 80 pp 2283-85

(Text)

OUAGADOUGOU was virtually closed down on October 4 and 5 when a general strike was called by all Upper Volta's trade unions in support of the primary school teachers' union, Syndicat National des Enseignants Africains de Haute Volta, SNEAHV. The government has therefore failed to prevent the skirmishing with SNEAHV from escalating into another confrontation of potentially disastrous proportions for the government with the country's trade unions.

SUVESS, the teachers' union for secondary schools, and the university have been on an open-ended strike since October 29 in support of their colleagues in SNEAHV.

The private school teachers union (SYNEPEL-HV), Syndicat National des Etablissements Privés d'Enseignement Laité, organised a two-day strike on October 31 and November 3, to precede the general strike, which they also supported. While the government claims that there are more than 500 teachers at work in the country, the unions estimate a figure nearer 100.

The general strike of November 4 and 5 involved all four main unions, known in Upper Volta as the Centrales or Conférences. The unions decided to leave the capital's electricity and water supply connected and allowed one bakery to produce bread. Otherwise Ouagadougou was closed down. A few Lebanese-run shops were open but even the central market was closed. Those in town were either curious citizens on their mobylettes trying to find out what was going on or the military and security forces. The military were directing the traffic while the CRS were stationed around the Place 3 Janvier, Ouagadougou's main square, in anticipation of any political meetings or demonstrations.

The trade unions have also given the necessary statutory notice — of five days — for an open-ended strike if their demands are not met.

Violence during and preceding the strikes has been at a minimum, although on November 3 a public meeting organised in Bobo-Dioulasso by the four centrales was broken up by an armed gang. The unions subsequently declared that members of the gang were recruited by the Minister of Education, claiming that they were armed with knives, batons and even pistols and roamed about much of the town seeking out the union leaders. *L'Observateur*, the country's only daily which is independently run, commented that "for union members the incidents reveal the incapacity of the PDV (Parti Démocratique Voltaïque) to lead the country and its desire to liquidate the unions and trade unionism in order to install a single party."

The PDV-RDA continued its publicity campaign against the strikers, principally by not allowing them access to the radio. Some of the local traditional chiefs, particularly in Ouagadougou, called meetings of PDV-RDA teachers instructing them to return to work. The meetings were heavily guarded and outsiders were not permitted to attend.

On November 6, the CSV, one of the four main unions, was still on strike and some strikers were arrested. Banks, post offices and the airport were still closed. The Minister of Labour denied on the radio on November 5 that anyone had been arrested, but the following morning the radio reported two arrests. Subsequently it became known that six people had been arrested and one had been released. The CSV has said that it will continue its strike until the five are released. By Thursday evening all were released but the CSV maintained that the strike would start again.

from November 11 — as we go to press there has been no confirmation of the union decision — if the government does not respond to union demands.

The dispute has become a complex issue of union claim and government counter-claim (see *West Africa*, October 27, 1980) in which the government has made little headway in satisfying the teaching unions. In the process the quarrel has acquired important overtones with the opposition Front Progressiste Voltaïque supporting the strikers and the government alleging that the unions are being manipulated for political purposes.

The immediate causes of the strike concern complaints by SNEAHV that two of their teachers, including the SNEAHV General Secretary, M. Baba Ouedrango, were transferred from their posts and demoted (see *West Africa*, October 27). The Union claims they are being victimised for their involvement in previous strikes. President Lamizana retorted with the observation that civil servants cannot and must not expect to sit behind the same desk throughout their career. The unions had also objected to the selection of a number of teachers to receive scholarships for further training in France, claiming that they were given as reward for being strikebreakers.

The story of government confrontation with unions in Upper Volta is a much longer one, however. Since 1979 the unions have been actively demanding increases in the minimum salary and improvement in working conditions. At the beginning of the year the civil service received an increase in salary. This, however, did not prevent the continuation of the strikes and an intensification of union action.

The effects are already evident. That the army should make itself prominent during the latest strikes poses a number of questions. The armed forces are also very conscious of the fact that twice before in the last ten years the unions have been responsible for successfully putting pressure on General Lamizana's military government for more liberalisation. The strikes of late 1975 resulted in the constitution and election of 1978, the disputed results of which brought the present PDV government to power.

With a much longer strike imminent, and the government of M. Joseph Conombo having refused to negotiate directly with the unions, eyes turn to the military. November

1 was Army Day. At the opening of a new officers mess, the Defence Minister, M. Francois Bouda, said: "Our National Army has the eminently difficult task of combining a faultless national patriotism with sometimes also remaining the ultimate reference in the contingencies of national security."

Such speeches do not go by unnoticed in Upper Volta, and they serve to raise the often well-founded speculation about a move by the Army. The Voltaic Army is not a united group. For almost 15 years it has been controlled by General Lamizana, and he carries particular weight with the right-wing elements of the Army. It is possible that, should the political situations deteriorate further, President Lamizana would be well-supported within the military if he were to make a move to re-establish some order. It is equally possible that like-minded officers may feel that the General should be removed.

There is also a very strong left wing, or radical group in the army. Composed largely of younger members of the officer corps, their solutions would not include the tolerance of parliamentarianism that has been the hallmark of Lamizana's comparatively benign leadership in the past. Certainly the President has voiced a fear of this privately. Should this section of the armed forces decide to act it could well bring in its wake Upper Volta's radical politicians, including Professor Joseph Ki Zerbo, who is Secretary General of the FPV. For all his radical views and critiques of the PDV, Professor Ki Zerbo is not inclined to Marxism. He preaches constantly for a government of National Unity.

The financial situation in Upper Volta is serious enough to warrant a concerted effort from all the country's politicians, if they are to retain some credit with the populace.

In General Lamizana, France has an ally in West Africa, who is well supported by Ivory Coast. Already France has come to the financial aid of the government. In August, the majority-state-owned Banque Internationale des Voltes almost collapsed because of the credit squeeze caused by Ivory Coast and Senegal pulling their money out of the West African credit institutions to combat their own economic problems. President Lamizana flew to Paris to request assistance, which he received. It

was generally assumed in Ouagadougou that if the bank has collapsed so would the government.

Meanwhile, M. Conombo's government has had to face a series of economic disappointments, some of its own making. The manganese deposits at Tambao have yet to be exploited because of the costs involved in constructing a transport system. Drought has hit some parts of the country. The rural development structure, founded on ORDs (Organismes Régionaux de Développement) is very creaky; some members of the administration would say that it is collapsing. With the publication earlier this year of the projects for the 1977-1981 Plan, the country was given as

an excuse for the two-year delay in publishing and implementing the Plan that: "Conceived in order to be implemented from 1977, the projected 1977-1981 Plan only became definitive in 1979. The delay is essentially due to exceptional political circumstances." This meant the series of referenda and elections from late 1977 to mid-1978 and the subsequent dispute over who had a majority in the Assembly.

However, there are many Voltaics who are beyond tolerating parliament; for them it has become the stage for a government which looks only to its own stability. And with that view lies the implicit condemnation of a large proportion of the political class of Upper Volta.

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UPPER VOLTA

BRIEFS

TEACHERS STRIKE--Ouagadougou, 22 Nov (AFP)--Upper Volta's teachers unions have called on their members to end the strike they began nearly 2 months ago. The back-to-class decision was made yesterday by the National Union of African Teachers and the Secondary and Higher Teachers Union. Teachers are supposed to return on Monday. It was not immediately clear what influenced the unions. However, there had been reports that the government was recruiting student teachers or new graduates to take over the strikers jobs, and the government had met one of the strikers demands: for better pay. The teachers went on strike on 1 October. In addition to more money, they wanted the return to Upper Volta of three interns sent on an educational administration course in Paris under conditions the unions judged irregular, and the return to their former posts of two union leaders who were transferred for having gone on strike earlier. The unions said that the suspension of the strike does not mean the struggle is completed. On the contrary, the struggle will continue in other forms until we obtain satisfaction of (our) just demands. The teachers strike triggered a confrontation between the government and the powerful trade union federations of this West African country. The federations called for a 2-day general strike early this month, but many workers went to their jobs anyway. [Text] [AB221241 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 22 Nov 80]

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